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Modernizing slavery : investigating the legal dimension

Reviews the laws devised by the imperial government to dismantle the slave labor system in the period 1823-38 in order to locate the moment of articulation between chattel and wage slavery. According to the author, the distinguishing feature of these new laws was that the workers lost the right to labor bargaining. Abolition brought free status and civil rights, but the new labor system was not less rigorous.

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MODERNIZING SLAVERY:
INVESTIGATING THE LEGAL DIMENSION

The transition from chattel to wage slavery was effected in the British Caribbean by restructuring colonial labor laws.¹ The process began in 1823; under pressure from abolitionists inside and outside parliament and with support from the West India lobby, the imperial government made an unprecedented attempt to alter existing owner and slave laws and prepare the slaves for freedom. It marked the seriousness of its intention by promising slave owners £20 million compensation for their property losses when abolition finally took place. Dismantling the slave laws, in the event, took fifteen years: between 1823 and 1833 laws were framed to prepare the slaves for the "civil rights and privileges" of other classes of His Majesty's subjects² and from 1833 to 1838 when the slave status was abolished and a master-apprentice system was substituted as a preliminary to wage work.

Dismantling slavery was the imperial government's first direct intervention in British Caribbean labor laws. In the representative colonies founded in the seventeenth century (Jamaica, Barbados, Bahamas, St. Kitts, Nevis, Antigua, Montserrat), or acquired in war (Dominica, St. Vincent, Grenada) elected Assemblies drew up their own legislation for confirmation by the Crown. And in the Crown Colonies, captured during the Napoleonic wars, (Demerara-Essequibo and Berbice, united to form British Guiana in 1831, Trinidad, St. Lucia) existing slave codes had been left in tact, or modified by local ordinances issued by the governor, again confirmed by the Crown.

Statute law was complemented over the decades by customary laws. Customary laws embodied practices acknowledged by owners and slaves

1. An early version of this paper was presented at the "Master and Servant in History" Conference at York University, Toronto in 1996. I want to thank Douglas Hay, Bridget Brereton, and David Eltis for their comments.

2. Public Record Office (PRO), London, Colonial Office (CO) 854/1, Circular Despatch, Bathurst to the Governor of Jamaica, May 28, 1823.

which made the slave labor system flexible, capable of adapting to the economic needs of developing colonial societies. By custom slave workers accumulated *de facto* certain rights, forms of civil rights which were acknowledged by statute only belatedly, or not at all. These rights originated, in some cases, in workplace disputes where slaves made claims their owners found convenient, or necessary to concede and which subsequently gained society-wide recognition.

Slave workers claimed the right to bury their own dead, they traveled (despite pass laws) to market, to church, or to visit wives and families on neighboring plantations. As small producers, with gardens or provision grounds, they traded their own produce at market, dealt in small coins, and acquired inheritance claims to provision grounds as family land. The slaves' contribution to the internal economy of the colonies within this framework was widely acknowledged by contemporaries.

The slaves' most important single customary right, the right which was capable of initiating what became new society-wide customs and helped to maintain those existing, was their right to labor bargaining at the workplace. Slave workers used their labor power as a bargaining tool to contest and shape their terms of work. Verbal protests, covert withdrawal of labor, outright absenteeism, sabotage and, most importantly, collective withdrawal of labor – strike action – were used to make informal contracts which modified the terms on which their labor was extracted. They contested excessive punishment, increased or excessive work loads and work hours, inadequate rations and/or lack of time for the provision grounds, inadequate clothing, removal from one property to another, tyrannical overseers, and roll-backs on their customary work terms.

Slave owners and managers were actively involved in labor bargaining procedures. Slave workers, individually or collectively, carried their grievances over the heads of overseers to attorneys and owners, or to neighboring planters and magistrates; owners in turn, faced by strike, invited neighbors and magistrates to mediate. And where labor was in short supply, where sugar production was interrupted, where the permanently resident slave workers' case against a temporarily employed overseer was strong, concessions were made and overseers sacked.³

These procedures, most readily observed on the agro-industrial sugar estates, were costly for the slaves to establish and maintain. Action always risked and often earned punishment for both leaders and their followers; but workers who "took flog" as part and parcel of producing labor, as well as for infractions of work discipline were prepared to put their bodies on the line to give themselves and their labor political weight. Labor bargaining

3. Johnson 1995:165-70; Turner 1995a:34-36, 39-44; Turner 1995b:1-13; Wood 1995:79-82.

procedures, variously calibrated and sanctioned by custom, can be traced throughout slave colonies in the Americas. The extent to which statutory law afforded the slaves any form of legal redress of grievances, however, varied considerably. In British Caribbean representative colonies there was scant provision. The 1816 Jamaican Slave Code, for example, gave slaves the right to appeal to the magistrates only “wanton” punishments, or workplace punishments in excess of the legal maximum. But in the Crown Colonies taken over from the Spanish and the Dutch, the system for legal redress was more advanced. A government official, the *fiscal* in the Dutch mainland colonies and *procurador fiscal* in Trinidad, included the administration of the slave laws in their duties. This involved dealing with slave grievance cases within the parameters the law allowed.

The system of legal redress was underpinned, however, as the records of the fiscals in Berbice make clear, by labor bargaining procedures. This government official usually provided a court of last appeal for the slaves and, under the Dutch system, was expected to do so. Owners and managers paid a fee of twelve guilders (£8.5) for every slave who appeared before the fiscal which made collective protests particularly expensive; it put a premium on settling disputes at the workplace.⁴

Dismantling the slave labor laws impacted, consequently, on statute and customary law, including labor bargaining procedures, throughout the British Caribbean. This article reviews the laws devised by the imperial government to dismantle the slave labor system in the period 1823-38 in order to locate with some precision the moment of articulation between one system of labor extraction and another: from chattel into wage slavery. Laws devised to make workers and their progeny servants in perpetuity are first modified and then replaced by a new labor code devised “to promote the industry of the manumitted slaves.”⁵

The review concretizes exactly what changes in the terms of work accompanied the workers’ upgraded legal status. It reveals the continuities and the disjunctions between reforming slavery and implementing wage labor in terms of both aims and methods and considers the impact of the restructuring process on the workers’ well-established labor bargaining procedures. It allows us in short to reassess the emotive designation “free labor.”

4. Turner 1999:41. Parliamentary Papers (PP), House of Commons (HofC), London, 1828, XIII, no. 577, Commissioners of Civil and Criminal Justice in the West Indies and South America, Second Report, Second Series, Demerara, Essequibo, Berbice, Appendix A, 90.

5. Public General Statutes 1833, An Act for the Abolition of Slavery throughout the British Colonies; for promoting the Industry of the manumitted Slaves; and for compensating the Persons hitherto entitled to the Services of such Slaves, 3 and 4 Wm. IV. c.73.

DISMANTLING THE SLAVE LABOR SYSTEM: STAGE ONE, 1823-33

The legal changes considered necessary to prepare the slaves for freedom inevitably curtailed the owners' rights and expanded those of the slaves; opposition from resident planters was only to be expected. The imperial government, however, was prepared at first to override such opposition and, if colonial Assemblies proved recalcitrant, impose the new laws by parliamentary authority (Ragatz 1971:412-13). A tremor of slave revolts and conspiracies combined with planter opposition, however, induced a return to traditional constitutional practice: influencing the Assemblies through colonial agents in London, the parliamentary based Committee of West India (absentee) Planters and Merchants, local governors and appeals to the resident planters' perceived best interests. Such influences, activated by the critical onslaught of the anti-slavery movement and illegalization of the slave trade, had prompted most Assemblies to make occasional changes to their slave laws. And by the 1820s the increasingly vociferous free trade lobby made it highly desirable for the West Indies to keep its privileged position in the British sugar market whatever the cost. But colonial responses to imperial government initiatives were often hostile and the resulting laws ineffective, leaving the Colonial Office with only one recourse: disallowance on the advice of its legal counsel.

In the Crown Colonies, by contrast, where governors exercised both legislative and executive power on behalf of the Crown, laws were routinely imposed, either directly by proclamation, or adapted by appointed legislative councils into local ordinances. The imperial government's blueprint for dismantling the slave system is consequently most clearly and succinctly formulated in the Orders in Council drawn up by the Colonial Office for application or adaptation by the Crown Colonies. The Orders in Council for March 10, 1824 and November 2, 1831, discussed here, marked the parameters of the first stage in the dismantling process.⁶

The 1824 Order strengthened the administration of the slave laws. The office of Trinidad's *procurador fiscal* became a salaried appointment for a non-slave holding official acting full-time as Protector and Guardian of Slaves. The protector had a limited brief in slave criminal trials: to attend cases of slaves accused of felonies (punished by death or transportation),

6. PP, HofC, 1825, XXVI, Papers in Explanation of Measures Adopted by His Majesty for Amelioration of the Condition of the Slave Population in the West Indies and South America, pp. 124-38; 1830-31, XVI.I, no. 230, Papers in Explanation of Condition of the Slave Population in H.M. Possessions in the West Indies, South America, Cape of Good Hope and Mauritius, pp. 93-138.

cases of cruelty to or murder of slaves, and manumission and property trials in the capacity of prisoners' friend and report them to the Colonial Office. The primary purpose of the appointment, however, was to implement in person and through the supervision of the local magistrates, the innovative imperial labor laws.

The 1824 Order changed the legal terms for slave labor extraction. It made the use of the whip to coerce labor in the field illegal. The whip – a focus of slave protests and anti-slavery propaganda – symbolized the physical brutality, the barely restricted personal power owners exercised at the workplace, and the archaic nature of the chattel slave system. To limit its use was a first step to introducing modern labor extraction methods and it was recognized as such by the Committee of West India Planters and Merchants who suggested the change (Ragatz 1971:411). The whip embodied the brutality of the system and no less importantly, its perceived inefficiency – much advertised in contemporary debates on free labor and cheap East Indian sugar.

Persons superintending slaves in the fields were prohibited from carrying “a whip, cat, or other instrument of a like nature for the purpose of impelling, or coercing any slave, or slaves to perform any labour of any kind,” or of carrying it as an emblem of authority. Overseers, bookkeepers, and slave drivers were sent into the field disarmed. The Order proposed no alternative method of inducing labor although Colonial Secretary Earl Bathurst, in a confidential despatch to the West Indian governors, recommended the introduction of task work complemented by wages for work done over and above the task (Ragatz 1971:415). Such arrangements already featured in informal contracts established by labor bargaining.

Illegalizing the whip to coerce labor was complemented by regulating workplace punishments by flogging. The existing slave laws all defined such rules: the number of lashes to be administered in any one day (the range was from one to thirty-nine), the interval to elapse between the offense and the lashing, and specified the need for the worker to recover between punishments. But there was no secure means of implementing them (Stephen 1824:40). The owners' and managers' right to punish at will had only been effectively challenged in a piecemeal way by the slave workers themselves. It was overseers who breached customary punishment norms, or inflicted cruel and unusual punishments who were most likely to provoke strike action.

The 1824 regulations went far beyond anything the slaves might have bargained for. Women, who formed 50 to 70 percent of sugar estate workers (Higman 1984:585-602) and were commonly regarded as more “troublesome,” were entirely exempted from flogging. They were to be put in the stocks or imprisoned. Removing some 50 percent of the slave work force

from the lash was a substantial innovation aimed to promote reproduction among a steadily declining workforce. Flogging for male workers was limited to a maximum of twenty-five lashes.

To implement these laws the Order introduced a form of self-policing by owners and managers, supervised by the protectors and their assistants, and backed up by fines and criminal prosecutions. All punishments of female slaves and of men given more than three lashes were to be recorded within two days by the managers in a Plantation Record Book. The record was to specify the offense: time, place, nature, and extent of the punishment and who had authorized and witnessed (one free person or three slaves) it. The record had to be sworn on oath every quarter when it was deposited with the local assistant protector (penalty £10-100 fine) and sent within fourteen days to the protector (penalty £5-100). Falsification of the record was a misdemeanor, punishable by a £50-500 fine and/or one to six months in prison.

Exceeding punishment limits led to prosecution in the criminal court for cruelty and the slave allegedly so punished was allowed, if traces of the punishment remained, to testify on his own behalf. If the court found against the owner, he was guilty of misdemeanor and the slave forfeit to the Crown. The Order did not attempt to define what constituted workplace indiscipline, but the records returned to the Colonial Office in due course established current norms.

Limits on workplace punishments were complemented by limits on working hours, again sanctioned by fines. The six-day week (already customary outside crop/sugar harvest) was to allow an eighteen-hour break from sunset on Saturday to sunrise on Monday, domestics and slaves engaged in "necessary work" (e.g., tending stock) excepted.

All these laws diminished the slave owners' and managers' authority. To countervail this practical diminution, however, the Order promoted the slaves' ideological formation and provided opportunity for them to learn (like English agricultural laborers subjected to parson as well as squire) that Christian duty meant obedience to God and their masters. To create a space outside the working week for this, the Order cut back on the slaves' customary right to Sunday trading and decreed the market must close by 10 a.m., before Divine Service began. Plans were already in hand for the imperial government to invest money and personnel (including two bishops) to revivify the Anglican church in the West Indies, make it partner with the colonial state. The regulation, however, also prepared the way to wage work by increasing the slaves' dependency on their owners' wages in kind.

Religious teachers were few and comprised mostly dissenting missionaries. But the right to go to church was a right some slaves claimed even when managers contested it – as often happened in Jamaica, for example (Turner 1998:78-80, 132-44) – so a legal right to public worship had sig-

nificance. For the majority, however, limits on Sunday marketing cut into living standards and social life.

Incentives to slave churchgoing were written into the new code which also extended the slaves' range of personal rights into new areas. Slaves who were certified by licensed ministers and duly registered with the protector as capable of understanding the meaning of an oath were allowed to give evidence in court. Other provisions legalized the slaves' customary right to own property and introduced the right to marry, to be sold (in specific circumstances) in family groups, and for slaves willing and able to pay for it, a legal route, supervised by the protector and sanctioned by the High Court, out of bondage by manumission.

The protector and his magistrate assistants improved the slaves' access to legal redress in labor disputes and the new laws extended the forms of redress available to them. In Berbice, for example, the protector more than doubled the number of cases the fiscal had dealt with and recorded them more systematically. More importantly, however, the new laws in no way impinged on the slaves customary bargaining procedures which in effect were sanctioned by the protector. In every case he dealt with direct negotiations between workers and managers had already taken place; appeal to the protector remained a last recourse. The retention of this customary right was of course all the more important since the protectors dealt with comparatively few cases (Turner 1999:50, 54-56).

The new owner and slave laws proved contentious even in the Crown Colonies. In Trinidad where the changes were imposed directly, the governor chose the existing *procurador syndic* – a barrister from a slave owning family and already a pluralist – as protector. Only two slaves in Trinidad were certified as capable of giving evidence on oath (1824-29) and very few owners were ever prosecuted for breaches of the Order. On the other hand, more than four hundred slaves, in a slave population of some twenty thousand, one-third of them domestics, took advantage of the new manumission mechanism (Brereton 1981:60-61, 69). In the other Crown Colonies the Colonial Office chose to use the threat of change by Order in Council to prompt legislative councils into action. Demerara held out against any reforms until 1825 and contested some provisions until 1828; Berbice and St. Lucia complied in 1826 (Mathieson 1967:154-58). In the representative colonies, where the reform measures were outlined in a circular despatch and laid before the Assemblies, adequate versions of the proposed reforms characteristically took even longer to achieve: 1829 in Tobago, 1830 in St. Vincent and, most spectacularly – despite eight model drafts sent by the Colonial Office, two disallowances and the presence in the Assembly of a significant group who advocated cooperation with the

imperial policy – 1831 in Jamaica, the largest single slave labor unit in the British Caribbean (Ragatz 1971:418-19; Turner 1998:120).

Where reforms which conformed to imperial standards were implemented some improvements in the slave workers' conditions of employment are discernible. Analysis of the Protector of Slaves reports for Berbice between 1827 and 1830 show that the maximum number of lashes inflicted on men for disobedience and insubordination fell from seventy five to twenty-five. By 1830 two-thirds of male slaves were punished by the stocks or imprisonment. Maximum punishments for women for the same offenses were also reduced from seventy-one hours in solitary confinement to four hours in the public stocks (1829-30), an improvement which also minimized work time lost. The removal of the whip from the field also reduced the number of complaints about punishment for protesting work loads and tasks; these fell from one in every three to four cases to one in every nine to ten.⁷

However inadequately implemented, the laws marked an imperial government policy decision which the opposition of resident planters did nothing to change. And as Colonial Office experience of planter recalcitrance and slave worker conditions accumulated, determination tended to harden. This was more particularly the case since the Colonial Office staff included James Stephen (son of James Stephen the abolitionist), as legal adviser and Henry Taylor, as senior clerk. Both were committed to the dismantling policy. They strongly influenced decision making under two notably indecisive colonial secretaries (Sir George Murray and Lord Goderich). Outside the Office, while the Reform agitation eclipsed all others, it also embraced and intensified them. Public pressure for emancipation made a qualitative leap forward in 1830-31 and the Anti-Slavery Society switched its campaign from a demand for gradual, to a demand for immediate abolition. And the newly elected Whig government was committed to reform in general. These political circumstances were all reflected in the radical content and decisive handling of the November 2, 1831 Order in Council.⁸

The 1831 Order repealed all the slave laws enacted since 1824, but built on the progressive elements in them. The colonial secretary, Lord Goderich, introduced the new package in a despatch which spelt out what had been stated only in general terms in 1824: that the legal changes were a "measured and cautious, but ... decided advance toward the ultimate extinction of slavery." He attributed the impending threat of West Indian bankruptcy⁹

7. PP, HofC, 1829, XXV, no. 335, Protector of Slaves Reports, List of Offences 1 July-31 December 1827, pp. 38-39; 1830-31, XV, no. 262, Protector of Slaves Reports, Abstract of Offences, 1 July-31 December 1829, pp. 103-9, 1 January-14 May 1830, pp. 119-20.

8. PP, HofC, 1830-31, XLVI.I, no. 230, pp. 93-138.

9. The economic decline of the West Indies provoked two Select Parliamentary committee enquiries in 1831 and 1831-32.

and the danger that slave revolt might destroy the sugar industry to a system where "the people are not dependent on their own voluntary industry for their support; in which labour is not prompted by legitimate motives and does not earn its natural reward." It was time the slave owners acknowledged that the colonies consisted for the most part of slaves: that West Indian property was the direct fruit of their labor and that to refuse the slaves legal protection and adequate subsistence was unreasonable. He emphasized that, in the long term, the dismantling of the slave labor system was inevitable; "it would be a fatal illusion to suppose ... the ultimate extinction of slavery, by cautious and gradual means, can be averted" and resistance could only bring the planters to disaster. The written warning was underlined by the fact that months before, in August 1831, slaves belonging to the Crown had been liberated.¹⁰

The November 2 Order firmed up the protector's position by making the assistant protectors Crown appointments. At the same time both protectors and the new assistants were also empowered to take both criminal and civil proceedings in response to slave complaints. They could summon witnesses and accused (both slaves and owners) on twenty-four-hours notice, arrest them for failure to attend, and jail them for refusing to be sworn until they agreed to be examined. They were also given free access to plantations and slave villages to collect evidence and to obstruct them was a misdemeanor. Their protective powers in short expanded to encompass prosecution of breaches in the slave labor laws.

The distinguishing feature of the 1831 Order, however, was that it set out the mutual obligations of slaves and owners: how much work for how much food, clothing, and medical care supplied. It defined contract terms for both parties. The six-day working week was complemented by a standard working day, limited to daylight hours – 6 a.m. to 6 p.m. – with two breaks, from 8 to 9 a.m. and from 12 to 2 p.m. – making nine hours in all. Within this time frame the Order also legalized task work, as suggested in 1823. Nightwork was allowed in manufacturing, but only when slaves worked one nine-hour shift in every twenty-four. The workday was reduced to six hours for slaves under fourteen or over sixty and for pregnant women, and nightwork was prohibited. The standard nine-hour day for a six-day working week made fifty-four hours in all with fines of £1-10 for each slave illegally employed.

These regulations which systematized meal breaks, nightshifts, and classified workers as eligible for full and two-thirds time were more stringent than any applying at the time in industrial England. While some infor-

10. All quotations above are from PP, HofC, 1830-31, XLVI.I, no. 230, Circular despatch, Goderich to the Governors of British Guiana, Trinidad, St. Lucia, Mauritius and the Cape, November 5, 1831, pp. 59-88.

mal contracts limited hours still further – allowing slaves a mid-week half-day break in addition to Sunday – the regulations improved overall standards.

More innovatively, the Order set the rates for slave worker wages in kind. This new level of intervention was robustly justified by Lord Goderich: “The fact is that the food of the slaves constitutes the largest part of his wages; and it can scarcely be required that the employer should judge in his own cause without appeal of the amount of remuneration which he is to supply to his labourer” – a comment which reflected both the role English magistrates had traditionally played in setting annual wage levels and Parliament’s more recent investigation of industrial wages paid in truck.¹¹ It also marked an innovation in West Indian vocabulary; the slave codes used the terms “allowances,” as if food was a gift, or “provision grounds,” as if the ground of itself produced the provisions. The term wages reinforced cognizance of the basic contractual element fundamental to the slave system, the exchange of food for work.

The method by which owners and managers were to pay the wages in kind had to be registered by the first week in January each year at the protector’s office, on pain of a cumulative fine (£2 for the first week’s delay, £4 for the second, etc.). Any change of method required the protector’s permission and a month’s notice. Provision grounds, on suitable land situated no more than two miles from the slave village, had to comprise half an acre for each person over fifteen years old and a quarter acre for each child. Seeds and tools for cultivation were to be supplied and time for cultivation (forty days in forty successive weeks) allowed in the workweek. The slaves had sole ownership of the crops and use of the land until the crops were harvested.

These terms, in particular the time for cultivation, were more generous than the existing slave code maximum of twenty-six days a year and many slaves’ informal contracts as well. The scale of existing provision grounds varied; in Jamaica with its internal frontier the slaves cultivated “in a straggling sort of way” as much as an acre or more, a scale comparable with family holdings in pre-famine Ireland, but on the empoldered land of British Guiana one-fifth of an acre was more typical (Higman 1984:209; Turner 1998:43). The price of this (prospective) material gain was the loss of the slaves’ customary right to cultivate their grounds unsupervised; under the new law work on the grounds, like work on the estate, was subject to the rules for slave labor.¹² More significantly, slave cultivators lost owner-

11. PP, HofC, 1830-31, XLVI.1, no. 230, Circular despatch, Goderich to the Governors of British Guiana, Trinidad, St. Lucia, Mauritius and the Cape, November 5, 1831, pp. 59-88.

12. This affected some territories and some slaves within those territories more than others. In British Guiana, for example, many of the slaves were supplied from grounds cultivated as part of estate production. Some proprietors leased crown land for this purpose. PP, HofC, 1831-32, XX, no. 721, Report from the Select Committee on the Extinction of Slavery throughout the British Dominions, q.2249 Rev. J. Austen.

occupancy and inheritance rights. The Order affirmed the landlords' right of ownership, pointing the way to rents and landlessness for wage workers. Sunday markets, already much curtailed, were totally prohibited cutting off estate workers from participating in the cash economy.

Subsistence rates for ration-fed slaves were significantly improved. The standard for persons over ten years old was 21 pints of corn, or wheat flour, or 56 lbs. of plantains, yams, or cocas, plus 7 herring or shad, with half rations for children under ten, all to be of good quality and delivered during the workweek. Owners were fined for non-fulfilment. These allowances were significantly larger than either previous slave laws, or informal contract terms had secured. Corn allowances could be as little as 9 pints a week; 14 pints a week, or 28-35 lbs. of ground provisions was considered symptomatic of management generosity (Ward 1988:118; Turner 1991:96-98). For clothing slave workers each had a hat and a blanket; the men a cloth jacket, two cotton check shirts, and two pairs of osnaburg trousers; the women two gowns, two cotton check shifts, and two osnaburg petticoats. The men also had a knife and a razor and the women a pair of scissors. The official allowance improved on the recommendation made for slaves in mid-seventeenth-century Barbados – a rug, a hammock, 2 petticoats, or 3 pairs of trousers – and added shoes which at that time had been supplied only to indentured servants (Ligon 1970:115).

To improve slave health a medical practitioner was also required to attend all work units with more than forty slaves systematically once a fortnight and record the sick, their diet and medicine in a journal open to inspection by the protector and his assistants. To the same end bedsteads, a luxury occasionally enjoyed by the most privileged slaves, and cooking pots were also to be provided.

Workplace punishments were further limited to a maximum of fifteen (not twenty-five) lashes in any twenty-four-hour period and other punishments were to be limited by governors' proclamation. No definitions were supplied, however, as to what constituted workplace indiscipline, although the protectors' reports revealed that punishments were meted out for indecent language, uncleanly habits, and quarrelling. Wanton punishments, that is "punishments without cause" were prohibited, together with punishments that were "more than adequate to the fault," unusual, or more severe than used in the common jail.

The day-to-day implementation of these rules depended, as in 1824, on owners and managers whose detailed accounts were to be kept in a more plainly titled Punishment Record Book. Breaches of punishment regulations exposed owners and managers to prosecution for cruelty and the forfeit of the slave, or slaves involved; additional convictions could result in

the sequestration of all slaves in the criminals' possession and his disqualification as a slave manager in addition to fines and imprisonment.

The right to give evidence in court was extended to the whole slave population. This narrowed the gap in terms of civil rights between slave and free status. The opportunity for religious instruction opened in 1824, became the right for non-domestics to attend day-time Sunday, Christmas, and Easter services by ministers licensed by the governor within a six-mile limit of their plantation. The limited number of churches not only made the law largely ineffective, but severely curtailed the slaves' customary right to freedom of movement outside the constraints of the workday.

The Order's most significant single innovation, however, was to affirm and enhance the slave workers' right to seek legal redress from the protector and his assistants. "Each and every slave" was authorized "at all times" to take their cases to the nearest protector. In colonies with pass laws this right overrode the need for a pass, should the manager refuse one, and managers who punished slaves for making complaints committed a misdemeanor. The slaves risked punishment all the same, however, since complaints judged to be malicious earned thirty-nine lashes, or up to three months hard labor. No less importantly, the slaves' customary right to labor bargaining at the workplace was not prohibited.

The political circumstances which radicalized the 1831 law also prompted an effort to short circuit colonial obstruction. Crown Colony governors were to put the order in force by proclamation within one month of receiving it and Assemblies were instructed to incorporate it by Declaratory Act, under threat of being denied financial aid worth half their respective revenues promised by the West India Relief Bill being drawn up by the Colonial Office.

Reception throughout the West Indies was hostile: slave owners protested reform of the system (Ragatz 1971:441-2) while the Jamaican slaves used mass strike action and attempted armed revolt, in December 1831, to end it. They erupted in rebellion to demand free status and wage work (Turner 1998:148-60). They rattled their cage and fuelled the abolitionists' cause. The Commons marked its sympathies in May 1832 by appointing a Select Committee to consider measures for the extinction of slavery. The Colonial Office, for its part, concluded that the government must either bow to the colonists, or move to abolition. Its views were circulated to Cabinet immediately after the December 1832 election for the reformed House of Commons (Murray 1965:194). Under pressure once more from the abolitionists, whose supporters in the reformed Commons had increased, the government committed itself to emancipation in March 1833.

DISMANTLING THE SLAVE LABOR SYSTEM, STAGE TWO, 1833-38

To this point efforts to restructure British Caribbean labor laws had been directed to improving the slaves' terms of work, and their statutory civil rights, including the right to take grievance cases unresolved by customary labor bargaining procedures to the authorities. The process had reduced the slave owners' power and increased the functions of the colonial state and the supervisory role of the Colonial Office. The Trinidadian owners' definition of the 1831 Order as a "121 pronged scourge" accurately summated the political thrust of imperial policy (Brereton 1981:61).

The decision to abolish slavery dramatically re-ordered government priorities. Once the slaves had free legal status the ex-slave owners, transformed into employers, became natural allies and the colonial state an instrument to ensure labor extraction. The government's decision to abolish slavery was in fact contingent on winning the consent of a "considerable part" of the colonial proprietors (Murray 1965:199). And this alliance determined both the terms of abolition and its method of implementation.

To implement changes in the slave labor laws the government in 1823 had been prepared, initially, to use parliamentary authority and in 1831 it had attempted to impose Order in Council's reforms uniformly across the British Caribbean. In 1834, however, parliamentary authority was used sparingly to put in place only what the government considered the fundamentals of the scheme; vital areas relating to the labor laws, the apprentices terms of work, labor discipline, and even the powers of the special magistrates were left in the hands of colonial Assemblies (Burn 1970:118 n.1). The imperial government, over and above its power to disallow colonial legislation commanded only one additional means of influence: compensation payments were contingent on colonial acts meeting its approval. But the fact that colonial laws had to be on the books before August 1, 1834, the date set for emancipation, severely limited its utility.

The abolition scheme itself, outlined to the Commons in May 1833, was a product of the imperial government's new formed alliance. It outlined a terminal dismantling stage for slavery which maximized the planters' workforce and stabilized both numbers and wage rates for more than a decade. Slavery as a legal status was abolished, but only children under six years were to be free. The rest of the ex-slaves were to be registered as apprentices without indenture and work forty-five hours a week for their former owners. The ex-slave owners' hold on young apprentices extended until they were twenty-four and twenty for men and women respectively. Adult field slaves served for twelve years and artisans and domestics for six at the same wages for their forty-five hours compulsory labor in terms of food,

land, clothing, and medical attendance they had received as slaves.¹³ Apprenticeship instituted a new form of tied labor to compensate the planters over and above their financial compensation.

This scheme was battered and dented by debate in the Commons. A motion to reduce apprenticeship to one year (the standard period of a Master and Servant contract) was lost by just seven votes and forced the government to reduce the length of service for all categories of apprentices to six and four years (Burn 1970:117). But the resulting Act¹⁴ reflected the government's new priorities. It gave detailed attention (twenty-five of fifty-four clauses) to how the compensation money was to be raised and distributed, set in place new mechanisms to discipline labor, but left the apprentice's terms of work unregulated. In essentials it was an employers' charter.

Following the precedent set by the introduction of protectors in the Crown Colonies, labor discipline became wholly and solely the responsibility of Magistrates with Special Commissions, appointed by the Crown, or the colonial governors. The act ruled: "it shall not be lawful ... to authorise any person ... other than Justices ... holding Special Commissions to punish any apprenticed Labourer for any offence." Stipends of £300 were allocated for one hundred appointees, all to be named each year to parliament. The stipendiaries took the application of the labor laws out of the hands of employers. But their limited numbers necessarily limited the efficiency of the system and the award of special commissions to colonists to hold in conjunction with general commissions further weakened the provision.

More crucially, however, the laws the special magistrates were to administer were to be devised in the representative colonies by the employers sitting in the Assemblies. The terms and methods of labor discipline, the focus of detailed regulation in the 1824 and 1831 Orders in Council, were simply listed in clause 16 of the Abolition Act as topics which required legislation. The apprentices' terms of employment in terms of food, lodging, clothing, and medicine were also unspecified. The language of the Abolition Act repeated the language of colonial slave laws and required, for example, that provision grounds should be "adequate" in quality and quantity and a "reasonable" distance from the slaves' living quarters. Generalities substituted for the specifics of the 1831 Order in Council. The

13. The government originally proposed to fix cash wages paid for additional work in credit at a rate determined by the price which employers as owners put on the slave at the beginning of the twelve-year apprenticeship. Each year's work would pay one-twelfth of this price so twelve years of paid labor would buy them out of apprenticeship. The government also attempted to scale down the £20 million planters' compensation promised in 1823 to a £15 million loan. Mathieson 1967:233; Burn 1970:115.

14. Public General Statutes 1833, An Act for the Abolition of Slavery throughout the British Colonies; for promoting the Industry of the manumitted Slaves; and for compensating the Persons hitherto entitled to the Services of such Slaves, 3 and 4 Wm.IV c.73.

abolitionist leader Thomas Fowell Buxton calculated that no less than twenty-nine vital issues affecting Master-Apprentice contract terms were placed in the hands of colonial Assemblies which had consistently opposed slave law reforms (Mathieson 1967:244).

Given the lack of detail in this innovative and important law it is particularly interesting to review the Colonial Office interpretation proposed for the Crown Colonies and as a model for the colonial Assemblies.¹⁵ Its provisions confirm in relentless detail the dramatic shift in imperial policy which followed the award of free status to the slaves.

The Order gave first priority to establishing a police force. "An effective police establishment," Lord Stanley ruled, "is of the very essence of the whole measure": a perception sharpened by his experience (1830-33) as Chief Secretary in Ireland, when recently emancipated Irish Catholics conducted a tithe war. The colonies were to be divided into judicial districts and a bit of Crown land set aside in each to establish a police settlement near the largest body of population in the district. Manned by ten privates and a sergeant supplied with "such weapons ... as may best be adapted to the service in which they are engaged," each settlement was to have a house of correction regulated by the governor, inspected and reported on monthly by the special magistrate. Prisoners were to be classified, separated by sex, kept clean and sober, given religious instruction, and promptly punished for rule breaking.¹⁶

The police settlements were there to back up the special magistrates one of whom was appointed to each district. Their terms of employment and their duties were closely modelled on those of the protectors. The protectors' right to visit the estates, however, became a duty: estates with more than ten apprentices were to be visited at least once a fortnight.

Strengthening the colonial state's regulatory and repressive powers was, of course, necessary to replace the slave-owners' authority and secure the workers' new contract terms. But the Colonial Office interpretation of the Abolition Act rolled back as well as improved the terms proposed in 1831. The apprentices wages in kind remained the same: this meant an apparent improvement since the hours of labor were shorter and the act specified that

15. PP, HofC, 1835, L no. 177, Papers in Explanation of Measures adopted by His Majesty's Government for giving effect to the Act for the Abolition of Slavery, Pt. 1, Jamaica, Circular dispatch, Stanley to Governors of His Majesty's Colonial Possessions not possessing Local Legislatures, enclosing the Draft of a proposed order in Council for carrying into effect the Act for the Abolition of Slavery, October 19, 1833, pp. 14-24.

16. PP, HofC, 1835, L no. 177, Papers in Explanation of Measures adopted by His Majesty's Government for giving effect to the Act for the Abolition of Slavery, Pt. 1, Jamaica, Circular dispatch, Stanley to Governors of His Majesty's Colonial Possessions not possessing Local Legislatures, enclosing the Draft of a proposed order in Council for carrying into effect the Act for the Abolition of Slavery, October 19, 1833, pp. 14-24.

cultivation time for the provision grounds was to be deducted from the forty-five-hour week. But their gain was off-set by paying allowances to workers, but not to children over twelve. This guaranteed employers' their traditional children's gang and provided a practical demonstration of the "work or want" principle. Parents who failed to support their children committed an offence against the state and they were hired out, sent to the public works so they could pay for child support monthly and in advance.

Classification by function eliminated categorization by age and capacity so the six-hour day and thirty-six-hour week specified in 1831 for pregnant women, the over sixty-year olds and children under fourteen as slaves, increased to forty-five hours for free persons bound apprentice. The work-day and the workweek were deregulated. Hours of labor were no longer confined to daylight (out of crop) and could be spread across a six-day workweek, Sundays still excluded. This gave employers flexibility and in British Guiana, for example, resulted in many slaves working six seven-and-a-half-hour days – minimizing their free, or cash-earning time.

New standards were set for workplace discipline. The act defined indolence, neglect and improper performance of work, injury to the employers property, insubordination, and disobedience as the "principal dangers" at the workplace. The vagueness of definitions such as "disobedience" and "insolence", used to justify punishments in the protectors' reports, had been strongly criticized by the Colonial Office in 1831; to whip males and put females in the stocks "upon such vague and loose charges" invited the abuse of the slave owners' authority.¹⁷ Once the workers had free status, however, the boot was on the other foot; what had by all means and methods to be restrained was not the abuse of power by the employers, but by the workers. So the use of "vague and loose charges" continued.

The punishment schedule had some new features. The act prohibited the renewal, or prolongation of apprenticeship; but, using a provision found in the 1563 Statute of Artificers, it countenanced extra work for absenteeism. For every hour of absence the apprentice served two additional hours up to a limit of fifteen hours a week, making a seventy-five-hour week, twenty-one hours more than the legal limits set for slaves in 1831. Indolent, careless or negligent work was penalized on the first offense in the same way and it was part of the punishment for careless use of fire, injury to property or stock, and disobedience. Apprentices could be held to serving out time up to seven years after apprenticeship ended.

Flogging at the order of the magistrates was retained for male apprentices. Absenteeism was punished by two weeks hard labor and fifteen lashes for one or two days, a month's hard labor and thirty lashes for three to

17. PP, HofC, 1830-31, XVI.I, no. 230, Circular, Goderich to Governors of the Crown Colonies, November 5, 1831, pp. 59-88.

six days. Seven days absence meant either three months in jail with hard labor, or thirty-nine lashes. Careless work on a third conviction got up to two weeks hard labor and twenty lashes. Insolent and insubordinate behavior, however, together with drunkenness and fighting were punished by up to a week in jail with hard labor, or fifteen lashes. Flogging for forms of workplace indiscipline, albeit at the behest of a magistrate, degraded free status workers with slave status punishment and marked the reversal of the modernization process set in train by the 1824 Order in Council.

Pass laws found in the earliest slave codes were revived to police movement off the estates for any purpose other than churchgoing, or marketing – exceptions customary under slavery. And to leave the colony apprentices required a passport issued by the governor on the written consent of his employer.

Restrictions on freedom of movement were combined with restrictions on freedom of settlement. Marronage, defined as prolonged, habitual absence from the estates by laborers who consistently neglected “to perform the duties imposed on them by law” and formed their own settlements, remained, as under slavery, a crime. The special magistrates were to destroy these communities and sentence inhabitants to hard labor (up to six months) with flogging (up to thirty-nine lashes). And to deter apprentice laborers more generally from unlawful occupation of Crown, or private, land they could destroy buildings and confiscate crops and cattle for the benefit of the landowner, or the public funds.

The apprenticeship scheme was characterized by labor coercion and punishment schedules. Free status apprentices, like chattel slaves were treated like criminals for absenteeism, or for undefined forms of workplace indiscipline and while flogging for men was administered only on the order of special magistrates, the law actually increased the number of lashes allowed over the standard set in 1831. It gave new sanction to old restrictions on freedom of movement and, by implication, of association. Wage levels in terms of food, clothing, and medical attention for their bonded working week remained, at best, the same.

The most significant components in the master and apprentice laws proposed in 1833, however, affected both legal and customary terms for labor bargaining. The Abolition Act recommended regulations to punish “combined resistance” and “riot”; the Colonial Office interpreted “combined” to mean three or more workers; if such a group agreed, for example, to dispute workloads, or if they actually “defied the lawful commands of their employers” by combined and open resistance, its members could be charged with unlawful conspiracy and get six months in prison with hard labor and up to thirty-nine lashes. The expressions of organized protest sanctioned by custom for labor bargaining at the workplace and as prelim-

inary to legal redress, or mediation were prohibited out right. The punishment risked by workers as slaves became a legal certainty for apprentices. And if a protest by three, or more apprentices became "tumultuous" and failed to disperse after a ten-minute warning, punishment was increased to twelve months in prison with hard labor. The pass laws, intended to prevent larger-scale inter-estate combinations, backed up these rules. No equivalent laws prevented employer combinations.

The apprentices, as persons with free status, enjoyed the right to seek legal redress which the 1831 Order had awarded to slaves. But as persons with free status, they were denied their customary right to use their labor as a bargaining tool. Their terms of work were to be defined by the colonial state's labor laws and mediated by the Crown's appointees, the special magistrates. Employers no longer had to endure challenges to their authority by their work force, or negotiate with them face to face; they had simply to invoke the law and the law enforcement agencies. The web of legal prohibitions which restrained their English counterparts was beginning to enmesh Caribbean workers.

The spirit in which these regulations were interpreted is well illustrated by employer reactions to the first flicker of collective protest in British Guiana where the proposed 1833 Order was incorporated with few modifications by Ordinance on March 8, 1834.¹⁸ On August 4, 1834, just three days after the emancipation celebrations had passed off without incident, apprentices along the Essequibo coast questioned the new contract terms and declared they would not work more than half a day without wages. The local magistrates (only five of the twelve stipendiaries allotted to British Guiana were in the colony at this time) panicked and called for martial law. The governor, Sir James Carmichael Smyth, a soldier by profession with a year's experience of the local ruling class, refused and when the protests continued he went himself with a few constables, explained the forty-five-hour rule and warned the apprentices that continued resistance would put them in court. But protests continued and in the upshot, the supposed ring-leaders were rounded up and tried, not by a stipendiary applying the punishments the Ordinance laid down, but at the Supreme Criminal Court in Georgetown under an indictment for riot and sedition. The leader, Damon, was sentenced to hang, four were to be transported, and thirty-two flogged. Smyth, who considered that flogging could only harden the victims' resistance, pardoned these prisoners. A vicious newspaper campaign against the governor ensued and when he sued for libel and lost Georgetown made high holiday.

18. School of Advanced Legal Studies, University of London, British Guiana Ordinances, Ordinance no. 43, March 8, 1834.

The Supreme Criminal Court judgement was upheld, moreover, by the Crown Law officers. Damon was hanged and the three surviving of the four apprentices sentenced to transportation, began their journey to New South Wales (Australia). They were eventually pardoned, but only because James Stephen persistently argued to successive colonial secretaries that their crime was riotous assembly and their legitimate punishment no more than twelve months in jail with thirty-nine lashes. They returned to British Guiana in time to serve out the balance of their apprenticeship term (Green 1969:49-51).

Little attempt in fact was made to regulate colonial abolition acts. Colonial Secretary Lord Stanley, in charge in the crucial few months (March 1833-May 1834) when the acts were being reviewed and compensation money awarded, took a strictly pragmatic view of the laws submitted for approval. He set aside the critiques by James Stephen which had customarily informed decisions about West Indian legislation in order to get the new system in place. He viewed apprenticeship as a temporary measure to secure law, order, and production while "all classes" gradually fell into "relations of a state of freedom" (Burn 1970:169; Green 1976:124). Colonial Assemblies fully exploited this latitude; their abolition acts failed to determine the distribution of the apprentices forty-five hours of unpaid labor, left wages unregulated, retained punishment schedules which went beyond the parameters set in 1833, condemning women to flogging and the chain gang, and cut down the powers and obstructed the operation of the special magistrates. And the Jamaica Assembly's Police Act stripped its special magistrates of their exclusive right to adjudicate all cases between masters and apprentices by transferring jurisdiction for praedial larceny (one of the commonest offenses) to the local magistrates.

Imperial parsimony aggravated the situation. The special magistrates responsible for implementing the labor laws comprised at best a skeleton staff, very variously recruited, of whom only forty-nine were available on August 1, 1834. The number originally allotted throughout the region had to be substantially increased: in Jamaica, for example, from thirty-three to sixty-three and in Trinidad from six to eleven (Burn 1970:197 n.1).

In the upshot, the inadequacies of the apprenticeship scheme and its maladministration became public knowledge and prompted a parliamentary campaign for its abolition launched in February 1838 by the anti-slavery veteran Lord Brougham. In response the government made a last minute effort to prop up apprenticeship by using parliamentary authority to override colonial legislation. The Act to Amend the Act for the Abolition of Slavery in the British Colonies¹⁹ passed in April 1838 was to be put into

19. Public General Statutes 1838, An Act to amend the Act for the Abolition of Slavery in the British Colonies, 1. Victoriae, c.19 1838.

effect, like the Orders in Council by proclamation. It was too little and too late. The West Indian Assemblies, alerted by the Parliamentary debates to the threatened abrogation of their constitutional rights, took pre-emptive action. They sacrificed two further years of bonded service from field and factory workers on the altar of constitutional privilege and between March and July 1838 terminated apprenticeship.²⁰

Apprenticeship was invented to add to the slave owners' compensation package by ensuring them, for a limited period, a secure labor supply. But the contract terms it set out for workers with free status had widespread and long-term consequences in the British Caribbean and throughout the empire. The terms for apprenticeship adumbrated in important ways the terms on which imported immigrant contract workers were subsequently employed. Planters began to pursue new sources of labor as soon as abolition was decided on and by 1838 Indian workers bound by contract began arriving in British Guiana. India became the largest single source of immigrant contract labor for the British Caribbean and the supply continued until 1917. Used primarily to exploit the sugar frontier in the Crown Colonies Trinidad and British Guiana, they kept wage levels for the whole population at bare survival rates. By mid century the scheme was well established and tailored to employer requirements with five-year standard contracts renewable to ten, for a nine-hour day, five-and-a-half or six days a week. Workers required a pass to move more than two miles from their plantation and absence from work was a criminal offense punished by fines or imprisonment. The workers only legal vent for grievances was appeal to the magistrates. The employers reestablished apprenticeship and this time made it renewable.

The immigrant contract labor scheme developed in the teeth of opponents in Britain who passionately believed that the standard one-year contract characteristic of Master and Servant law was essential to preserve the freedom of free labor. One of the politicians who did most to facilitate its development, however, was Lord Stanley.

The labor laws' key to modernizing the slave system reviewed briefly here reveal that the imperial government's efforts to improve workplace conditions for workers terminated with the abolition of slave status: apprenticeship regulations tended to roll back terms sanctioned for slaves by Orders in Council. At the same time the methods of coercion characteristic of the slave system take their place in the free labor system beside new methods of coercion. Chattel slavery was characterized by the pervasive use of life threatening physical force as an instrument of labor discipline. Flogging was not abolished; its role was reduced and regulated as alternative methods of physical punishment, the treadmill, imprisonment, and the stocks, were increasingly used. Absenteeism, criminalized by the slave codes, remained a crime and new punishments characteristic of wage work, fines,

20. Monserrat, which had rejected wage work by only one vote in 1834, decided in January 1838. Mathieson 1967:300; Marshall 1971:1-21.

and evictions were added to the battery of labor discipline techniques in a more sophisticated legal network implemented by magistrates and police.

The distinguishing feature of the new labor laws, however, was that they sent the workers into this new battlefield disarmed: labor bargaining was made illegal. The laws attempted to deny ex-slaves the customary right they had fought to establish as slaves. Abolition brought free status and civil rights, but denied the workers what was arguably their most vital and sole political right: to use their labor power as a bargaining tool to shape their terms of work. But traditions forged by slave workers proved adaptable to combat a no less rigorous, but differently calibrated system.

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SEX, AIDS, MIGRATION, AND PROSTITUTION: HUMAN TRAFFICKING IN THE CARIBBEAN

In every society, sexuality is set in the service of several realities – economic, political, etc. – which have nothing to do directly with sexuality or with the sexes (Godelier 1995:117).

“Sea, Sun, and Sex.” These three words aptly summarize the expectations of tourists coming to the Caribbean as sexual tourism has become an important element in the economic development of certain countries. Indeed, Europeans have bypassed Southeast Asia because of the AIDS epidemic, and sexual tourism has increased in the Caribbean, making the Dominican Republic one of the world’s centers. While we know that sexual tourism creates a demand for the prostitution of women, children, and for homosexual men, we are less familiar with the form of prostitution set in the service of a country’s internal demands. This article examines sexual tourism in Saint-Martin/Sint Maarten, where prostitution is a widespread reality.¹ Most studies on this topic emphasize the psychological frailties of the women who devote themselves to the “commerce of sex.”² This article, however, seeks to demonstrate that on this island where rapid economic development is based on the tourist industry and on tax havens (offshore

1. Saint-Martin/Sint Maarten is a binational Caribbean island. Saint-Martin is a *commune* of Guadeloupe, a French Département d’Outre-Mer. Sint-Maarten is part of the Netherlands Antilles.

2. The use of terms such as sexual “commerce” and “work” can be confusing since they could imply that prostitution is an economic activity like any other (see Louis 1997). I do use these terms, but consider the human body as unalienable and not to be considered an object for commerce.

services), sexual relationships are determined by geopolitical and financial interests that go beyond sexuality *per se*.

THE FIELD, THE OBSERVATIONS, THE POSSIBLE QUESTIONS

My research project on the therapeutic itineraries of AIDS victims reveals the extent to which different forms of prostitution are present in Saint-Martin/Sint Maarten. In an epidemiological context where AIDS is transmitted primarily through heterosexual contact,³ some of the men whose health strategies I was examining said that they believed they had been contaminated after unprotected sexual relations with prostitutes.⁴ After several interviews, however, it became clear that although they knew that they were HIV positive, some of these men nonetheless continued to seek out prostitutes without using condoms.

I decided to visit the brothels to investigate the use of condoms, accompanied by men who both knew the brothels and who were Spanish speakers. Since I do not speak Spanish and since most of the prostitutes are Spanish speakers, this was a necessity. By day, we visited bars, telling the managers or barmen that we wanted to inform the prostitutes about an AIDS detection center on the French side of the island which was free and where their anonymity would be respected. By night, we went to bars to have a drink and to talk with the prostitutes known to the men who were accompanying me. These encounters allowed me to gauge the difficulty of working with an interpreter: it was hard to carry out interviews without taking into consideration the interpreter's imagination and fantasies. Often, impassioned by my study, the men overstepped their roles, and tried to lead the interviews themselves. I observed that this study of prostitution let some of them, momentarily at least, drop their defense mechanisms with regard to sexuality, prostitution, and sexual stereotypes associated with ethnic stereotypes. On his first visit to a brothel, one of these men – who had been

3. In August 1995 on Saint-Martin, according to files in the French hospital that could be consulted, of the 203 HIV positive cases and 68 adult AIDS cases that had been counted, only one patient, a young Frenchman who had been contaminated in France, had contracted AIDS intravenously. Homosexual transmission, at that date, was attributed to bisexual men.

4. The ACSAG (Analysis of sexual behavior in the Antilles and in Guyana) study, an extension of the ACSF (Analysis of sexual behavior in France) study in French overseas departments in the American Hemisphere established the importance of prostitution in French Guiana and Guadeloupe. In the latter, men older than forty-five go to prostitutes three to four times more often than men in metropolitan France. In French Guiana, overall, men go to prostitutes seven times more often than in metropolitan France (Giraud 1995).

asked when he was seen with me, why he had come with his wife or whether I was an immigration inspector – took it into his head to “return there to help those women get themselves out of those places.”⁵ Another quickly refused to see me again and asked his family not to see me. I learned much later that ever since our trips to the bars, he was getting preferential treatment – free tricks! Another turned out to be the owner of a brothel in the Dominican Republic where “he tried out all the girls before hiring them.”

In the Caribbean, brothels are areas of male socialization. Men can meet simply to have a drink, or to watch a show without necessarily looking for a woman. On a small island like Saint-Martin/Sint Maarten it is impossible to remain anonymous. The men with whom I was working were first-time visitors to these brothels and attempted to remain anonymous, yet at the same time they wanted to know which island notables were regulars in these houses. When, in the evening, we went to these places, my male companions were careful about changing their car or asked me to take mine in order not to be recognized. When we parked in the brothel parking lots, they inevitably recognized the cars of certain island notables and insisted on staying in the bar in order to see them come out of their rooms! Occasionally, we were even hassled by their employees at the entrance, but once they understood who I was, they were delighted to answer my questions. Only the men accompanying me were naïve enough to ask how the employees, who spoke only Creole or French, could converse with the Spanish-speaking women.

What kind of discourse should be established between a female anthropologist, prostitutes, and clients? What kinds of observations can be made? Michel Bozon (1995) has explicitly demonstrated the difficulties of “observing the unobservable” concerning sexual practices. It is difficult to speak about personal sexual activity, whereas closed questionnaires lend themselves better to these issues. George Devereux, in his *De l'angoisse à la méthode*, says quite clearly that an interview about sexuality, even if it is scientific, is, in and of itself, a form of sexual interaction.⁶ While doing my field work, I received phone calls, offers of trips, and invitations to night-clubs from men who were already contaminated, and whom I had spoken about their sexual activity. This had not occurred during the interviews that were more oriented towards treatment strategies, as if addressing the issue elicited a new desire for life.

Getting a sense of “reality” when it comes to sexuality, more than for any other area, requires analyzing the interaction between interviewer and interviewee, and the transference and counter-transference that occurs during the interviews. The information that I gathered, even though on as tech-

5. The quotations refer to my interlocutors' remarks.

6. See Spira, Bajos & ACSF 1993.

nical an issue as the use of condoms, seemed to me to require careful interpretation if anything is really to be known about what goes on. When barmen and prostitutes say that condoms are used, aren't they doing so in order to take blame away from the brothels for transmitting the HIV virus? When Europeans claim that they use condoms, isn't it to show that they are aware of the information campaign on the AIDS epidemic? When I interview men from the Antilles and they tell me that they do not use condoms in brothels, shouldn't we ask ourselves if, in this macho context, this is the only possible discourse they can have toward a European woman? Therefore, the following analysis is the fruit of interviews with men infected with the HIV virus who have had recourse to the commerce of sex, of interviews with prostitutes, and of observations in brothels – it cannot be an analysis of sexual practices, but rather of the geopolitical context in which they occur.

Overlooking one of the island's most beautiful marinas, the brothels are prison houses for women who are often in precarious legal situations, or have a three-month contract that they most often overstay. They spend their days and nights in cells aligned along a corridor behind the bar, vulnerable to the brutality of their clients⁷ and to the financial demands of their employers. Depending on the house, women pay their rent, their food, and a percentage of their tricks. These houses are where politics, capital, drug money laundering, tax free investments, and corporal reification – of the bodies of single migrant men or of men from Saint-Martin/Sint Maarten in search of a bit of pleasure, and of women who migrate from island to island and even, occasionally, to Europe in search of revenue – collude. I did not view the prostitutes regarding this aspect so as to be able to continue my research unobstructed.

Where anthropological research in the Caribbean free zones cannot ignore the geopolitical conditions of their development, it is far more difficult to gather and analyze the data: the law of silence makes itself felt in a number of ways. Responses about the legal or illegal nature of the brothels are often imprecise and contradictory; meetings on the Dutch side require a letter of introduction from the lieutenant governor; meetings with barmen whom I was supposed to have met outside their workplaces were cancelled; I received friendly advice designed to stop my research; public documents simply disappeared. The law of silence is so strong that many North American sociologists and political scientists working on the island's social organization avoid discussing this situation.

The same law of silence holds for migrants. Generally speaking, migrants are uncomplaining about their living conditions. Those who confided in me publicly about their working conditions and about the corruption to which

7. Local newspapers regularly report on the violence which I observed on occasion.

certain administrations subject them were immediately called to order by their compatriots. "You don't speak that way to a white woman." Those who spoke to me about the different forms of exploitation to which they were subjected – no respect of the right to sojourn, of working rights, of social protection (health insurance) – did so either before leaving the island definitively or when I found them in Haiti after they had been expelled. Women prostitutes never complained in my presence about their living conditions or about the absence of the most basic human rights, for example, the right to medical confidentiality. A Saint-Martin resident told me, for example, that he had seen a man bring about twenty women from the Dominican Republic to a pharmaceutical laboratory for HIV testing. He knew the pharmacist, who had told him that this happened every time women arrived and that the exam results were handed directly to the brothel owner. This is illegal according to French law which requires that test results be given to the doctor who is responsible for telling the patient whether she is HIV positive or not.

SEXUAL COMMERCE: WHEN DOES PROSTITUTION BEGIN?

Caribbean anthropology focuses on studies of the family more than on any other topic, but sexuality and prostitution are not often examined. Yet the tremendous amount of ethnographic literature on families allows us to observe that in this context where heterosexuals often have several partners, sexual relationships often have a commercial dimension to them. For many women, living with a man or spending some hours with him weekly means guaranteed income and some gifts that improve life or more simply make daily life possible (Senior 1991; Wekker 1992; Kempadoo 1996). In Saint-Martin/Sint Maarten, the same is true for many migrant women. Some agree to share a man's hut in order to have a roof over their heads while others negotiate a sexual relationship in exchange for gifts of food and clothing. In a context where money is an important dimension of relationships between the sexes, I adopt the definition of prostitution given in Daniel Welzer-Lang's study (1994:191) of prostitution in Lyon as "a market where offer and demand meet with the intention of exchanging sexual services for money."⁸ This article is concerned exclusively with the prostitution of women.

8. For my interlocutors, this was what distinguished street prostitutes from women who simply wanted to flirt.

"How do you call them, the girls you meet in the street?"

- Well I don't call them prostitutes to their face, but they are prostitutes, because if you just meet a woman and you go with her for money, they are prostitutes. My girl friend

Given the binational status of Saint-Martin/Sint Maarten, sexual commerce takes different forms. First, the legal prostitution on the Dutch side, then that of dance halls, contact bars, and snack bars.⁹ This diversity of pleasure zones is specific to the Dutch islands, including Curaçao (Kempadoo 1994). On Saint-Martin, several brothels are considered legal. The Director of the Sint Maarten Health Department considers only the Seaman's club legal – other island officials argue that no place is legal, and that the Mirage on Curaçao is the only legal brothel in the Dutch Antilles. Other places, like the dance bars, are tolerated to keep them from becoming clandestine. These brothels are referred to either by their proper name or are called bars, clubs, and more rarely whorehouses, bordellos, or closed houses. They are buildings of different sizes, some of which are seriously deteriorated, and appear sordid and murky. All of them have a large hall where shows are staged either on a dance floor or on the bar counter, and where men can play pool or watch films. Women can ignore the men by staying in groups and playing table football in a corner of the room, or they can try to seduce men by inviting them to drink as much as possible. The rooms are all small and similarly furnished and resemble prison cells. They are set to the back of the bar or in the basement. Sint Maarten's brothels are in no way luxurious; more selective sexual commerce goes on at private parties in sumptuous villas or on cruise ships. Some men rush to get to the island's newest lot of prostitutes whose rates are twice or three times the going rate because they are *new* and *unused*.

Clients call the Seaman's club "the chapotting," the "Made in," and the "Made in Japan," because of its large Japanese clientele, which is in fact Korean. The Made in, the island's first site for sexual commerce, was created after World War II on the model of Campo Alegre, the ancestor of the Mirage in Curaçao, in order to satisfy the sailors from Korean fishing boats crossing the Caribbean. Today's clients at the Made in are mostly sailors, tourists, and residents of neighboring Saint-Barthelemy. This legal brothel is socially, politically, and financially integrated into Saint-Martin society. The migrant women who work there are recruited from their own country via a network linking the club's owner and certain of the "happy girls." The

I had to talk to her days, and days before I could get a kiss. When we met I had to talk and talk and she start to say: 'you save your money?' And I start to show myself and what not, then ... But I just don't make up my mind yet. Some of them women ... I just don't know, they got their children, they leave them in the house and they go with you. They don't know what happened to them, they gone sleep with another man, that's bad, all that's bad."

9. I will not address prostitution for tourists that goes on in hotels, or street prostitution, which I did not observe. This is the prostitution to make ends meet at the end of the month, or which occurs in private parties to which women from all over the Caribbean are brought, particularly from Guadeloupe, and the prostitution of young girls.

women are granted a three-month work permit by the immigration services after presenting a lung x-ray, the results of an HIV test, a test for syphilis, and a health certificate. After their stay on Sint Maarten, the women are supposed to leave for at least two months. According to the Public Health Department nurse who runs weekly medical checks in the club, the women usually return after two months whereas some years ago, they came back only after a year. Some women return this way on a regular basis for nearly four years. For the most part, they are recruited in Latin America. Sixteen prostitutes were working at the club when I visited it in September 1996: fifteen of them came from Colombia and one from the Dominican Republic. They paid \$50 rent per day for their rooms and meals. The weekly medical exam cost \$15, which they had to pay along with the \$40 HIV test which they had to undergo when they came back to the island, along with a syphilis exam. Each fifteen-minute trick brought in \$30 and a night with a *beautiful girl* cost \$400.

According to the Sint Maarten administration, dance clubs have an alcohol license and a license to have shows. Women working in bars have no work permits and generally stay longer than three months. Today, there are at least three dance clubs on the Dutch side; two of which are near the border. Border's bar also known as The White House or the Senate, is an imposing white, two-story building. On the ground floor, there is a large hall with a bar, a pool table, a stage for shows, and a television showing pornographic films. About thirty rooms are located in the basement and another building with bedrooms is being constructed. In October 1996, two women from Guyana, three from Colombia, and eight from the Dominican Republic worked here. A trick cost between \$50-\$100, depending on how much time it took, and a night, meaning from 9 p.m. to 7 a.m., cost \$200. Prostitutes from the White House were required to weekly see a doctor in the Dutch zone who handed examination results directly to the brothel's manager. Fewer than five hundred meters away, there is a second dance club, the Yellow House, also known as the Stairway because you have to go up some stairs to get in. Prostitutes there are from the English-speaking Caribbean, particularly from Guyana, and are dark-skinned, which is what customers coming to this club seek out. The last of the three dance clubs, the *Last Stop*, employs about a dozen prostitutes. In December 1996, seven of them were from the Dominican Republic and five from Jamaica. Five also worked on the club's stage, with hourly rotations of dancing to English- or Spanish-style music, until the last client left. The dancers earned \$350 a month, in addition to tricks which brought in about \$30, along with the single or five-dollar bills that men slipped into their g-strings when they came close enough during their striptease. Two of the women refused any trick for less than \$150.

Contact bars have no bedrooms. Prostitutes are come-ons who pick men up in the bar and then take them elsewhere to turn tricks. At the bar entrances, the women try to earn their living by selling condoms for \$1 apiece. One of the clubs, *Le Petit Château*, named for what some consider a famous Dominican show spot and which others consider a brothel,¹⁰ is a relatively new establishment that faces the university, built in the middle of the public dump created on one of the island's old salt mines.

Snack bars on the road, with one, two or three rooms, are also used to turn tricks. The prostitutes come from the Dominican Republic and have worked in Saint-Martin for several years; they meet their clients in the bar's bedrooms but live elsewhere.

Since the introduction of the *Marthe Richard Law* on April 13, 1946, brothels are illegal under French law. Since March 1, 1994, the law has come down more heavily on brothel-goers. In Saint-Martin, where French law is far from respected, three houses were tolerated until quite recently, and have only very recently closed their doors.

ETHNIC STEREOTYPES AND THE LABOR MARKET

Caribbean societies are highly stratified and social stratification corresponds to ethnic stratification. Perceptions of ethnic difference are based on a phenotypic perception of difference. An extraordinarily rich and discriminating vocabulary classifies every individual along a scale of phenotypes based on skin color, hair, nasal flatness, and lip thickness. The scale of values varies as a function of the most current ideology and of the island in question.

Male appreciation of Saint-Martin/Sint Maarten's prostitutes is linked to the prostitute's phenotype and nationality and is rather close to Saint-Martin's stereotypes of foreigners. The history of prostitution on the island reflects the evolution of the social perception of migrants and the ethnic stereotypes accompanying it. In the early 1960s, the island was populated almost exclusively by natives who particularly appreciated Haitian women who had come to the island as porters. In the 1970s, a wave of predominantly female Dominican immigration began.¹¹ Men from Saint-Martin/Sint Maarten preferred these women whom they perceived as com-

10. For a description of parties at *Le Petit Château* on the Malecon in Santo Domingo, see Forestier 1995.

11. The sex ratio of the migrant population is slightly skewed as men form 52 percent of the population, but displays clear differences depending on the population: 59 percent of the metropolitan French are men, 63 percent of the Haitians are men, whereas 73 percent of people from the Dominican Republic are women (Cazenave 1987).

ing to the island in the hope of marrying them, or a man from the European metropolises, in order to become a French or Dutch citizen. Not only their light skin was appreciated, but they also "make you feel like you are a god." Saint-Martin women then acquired the reputation of being cold, distant, and not interested in sex, whereas in the 1960s, for the young men from Guadeloupe vacationing on the island, Saint-Martin "was the island where everything was possible, where women were free and easy." Depending on where they came from, different men perceived women's sexuality very differently. This was the period during which two of the most tenacious and widespread ethnic stereotypes about Haitians and Dominicans were established. The Haitian population was considered "underdeveloped, close to barbarous," as evidenced by its dark skin color, gestures that were considered crude, and a certain physical corpulence. Haitian women were considered "too fast, too black, too insensitive." Dominicans were considered for the most part venal,¹² as demonstrated by their ostensibly provocative way of dressing – tight clothes, usually stretch shorts or leggings, and tight, sleeveless tee shirts – and way of walking. In a reversal of ethnic stereotypes about prostitutes, one of the prostitutes was getting ready to return to the Dominican Republic because she found that "there were too many black men here and (I) prefer white clients in the Casinos."

In the mid 1990s, Dominican prostitutes became less popular and brothel and bar clients wanted South American women from Costa Rica, Venezuela, Colombia, and Brazil. Beginning in 1996, Asian women were in demand and were described as "new arrivals" or "sisters" from this or that geographical area. Although these stereotypes dominated, they nonetheless left some room for other desires, like those for black-skinned women from Jamaica or Guyana. Regular brothel-goers do not ask for European women;

12. The remarks of a man used to going to brothels and dealing with street prostitutes. "I try a lot of them, but carry a woman home ain't good to do. You understand? Because sometime, you could carry a woman home, but not a Spanish woman. Everything they see, they want, you understand, everything they see they want, so it's just you go by them, and they deal with you, but you don't harbor by your house. The day the sick 'tis you they coming to. Because one day, one a them come by me. So I went French Quarter, and me carry one a them, and a next fellow fighting. So I stop the fight and the fellow sent me for the gendarmes. I tell her: 'let's go, let's go Marigot,' 'cause I bring her home there by me, and me and she talk. That time I was good, man, and she gave me sex and everything. This time I ain't got no money home you know, so when she ready to go home, I see her looking all over the place. So I tell her, 'I going down the road, stay there, wait for me,' and I take a next road and gone, you understand? So I don't know how she get home, my boy, me and she never see to talk, when we bot up to talk, she say, 'You do me that, hum!' I said: 'I ain't do you that, I was broke.' And at the time I had money I shove my hand in my pocket, gave her money. You understand? So some women, Spanish women, you stay good with them, but some they just like for what you got and they home you too."

one hotel on the French side of the island, now closed, was reserved for French civil servants and reputed to offer European women. Visitors of brothels insist that European prostitutes are drug addicts who prostitute themselves in the shipwrecked cargoes washed up on the beaches by hurricane Luis which devastated the island in September 1995. Whether from the Antilles or from Europe, the men who frequent the brothels consider American, Canadian, and French women to be "cold" and "distant," although they "would like to buy them for one night, just to see what they are like, but you need a lot of money for that."

The imagination, fantasies, and sexual reality of clients from the Antilles and from Europe, concern, above all, women of color and the stereotypes associated with them because of a history that has valorized or sought out certain phenotypes.¹³ There is another, plausible interpretation of this attraction to a particular phenotype of darker skinned-ness in the early 1960s, or towards lightness, or even to a phenotype of Asian women, altogether unknown until recently.

NEOLIBERALISM IN THE CARIBBEAN: CORPORAL REIFICATION

In 1990, eleven million tourists visited the Caribbean, the most popular tourist destination in the tropics. Saint-Martin/Sint Maarten is the most favored destination for the Lesser Antilles, drawing 23.6 percent of the tourists visiting this part of the archipelago. The tourist industry provides jobs for approximately 70 percent of the island's inhabitants and accounts for a major share of GNP. As of 1970, several tens of thousands of tourists started visiting the island. In the early 1980s, the tourist trade exploded. Between 1981 and 1990, the number of tourists tripled, going from 190,000 in 1981 to 565,000 in 1990. Saint-Martin/Sint Maarten is the fourth port for cruise ships in the Caribbean, after the Bahamas, the U.S. Virgin Islands, and Puerto Rico. Hotels and cruises drew one million visitors in 1990 (Taglioni 1995).

Until the 1960s, the island's population, made up largely of women, children, and elderly people, was less than two thousand people for an area of 86 km². The island was largely a place of emigration (Badejo 1990:22; Rummens 1993:216), where today it is a place of immigration. The island's demography is directly tied to its economic development thanks to the development of tourism and related development projects, and offshore services. The entire island is a free port; no border post separates Saint-Martin from Sint Maarten, and traffic moves freely between the two parts of the island. The common currency is dollars, although French francs and

13. See Bonniol 1992 on the ideology of color in Guadeloupe.

Dutch guilders are also used, albeit less often. On the Dutch side, foreign (mainly U.S.) investment in tourism since the early 1960s is responsible for this development. The first hotel was built in 1955; in 1990, there were twenty-five hotels, nine casinos, and several time-share apartments. Development on the French side began in the 1980s, based largely on fiscal advantages, including the 1986 defiscalisation law known as the Pons Law for the French territories, which allowed tourism to flourish just as it had on the Dutch side.

The island could enjoy this economic development because of clandestine labor recruited from all over the Caribbean. An INSEE census shows that the population on the French side of the island rose from 8,072 in 1982 to 28,854 in 1990. The Statistics Office of the Netherlands Antilles reports a population of 32,221 in Sint Maarten in 1992 (Central Bureau of Statistics 1993). Although the population on the Dutch side is somewhat larger, the percentage of nationals is virtually identical on both sides: 45 percent in the French part and 48 percent in the Dutch part. Haitians and Dominicans constitute the two largest groups of migrants. Haitians represent 26 percent of the population in Saint-Martin and 14 percent in Sint Maarten; Dominicans represent 10 percent of the population on the French side and 11 percent on the Dutch side. In the French part of the island the number of illegals, an estimated 42 percent of the foreign population, or 75 percent of all foreigners, is larger than in the Dutch part, where illegal migrants represent 33 percent of the population, or 60 percent of all foreigners.

This demographic shift reflects the ethnic appreciation that affects prostitutes, and which corresponds to the waves of migration first of Haitian women and later of Dominican women. The movement of clandestinely employed men has its counterpart in the clandestine movement of women who prostitute themselves wherever they can earn money. During the first congress on the condition of Dominican sexual workers, held in the Dominican Republic in May 1995, it was shown that the country has become one of the chief sources of women for the international sexual trade during the last few years. The cash coming from the "sexual labor" of Dominican women living abroad that was transferred to the island has made it possible to balance the budget. Finally, it was established that these women are driven to prostitution primarily because of poverty.¹⁴ Out of a population of approximately six million people, an estimated forty thousand women on the island earn their living by prostitution and approximately another fifty thousand Dominican women make their living in the same way in other countries (Harranz 1994:74).

14. In *Le Monde* of May 25, 1995, Jean-Michel Caroit said: "La République dominicaine devient un des 'paradis' du tourisme sexuel. Poussées par la misère, de nombreuses femmes sont contraintes de se prostituer."

Not only is the Caribbean "the laboratory for the meeting place of culture," but it is also the laboratory for perfecting neoliberal policy. This region is one of the places where international capitalism reigns, insofar as it is translated by intra- and external regional migrations, labor flexibility, and the commerce of sex. Some Caribbean islands and certain Latin American countries are loci for the reproduction of prostitution. This was true in Cuba, nicknamed "America's brothel" before Castro's revolution which outlawed brothels that had served for U.S. Marines and tourists.¹⁵ Since then, the Dominican Republic took the lead, followed by El Salvador, Panama, and Colombia. The islands housing European or American navy bases, not to mention the islands that practice sexual tourism, all have an organized network of prostitution. Since the period of European colonization, the demographic and settlement history of the region is based on a tradition of bringing women to serve the population and to satisfy the needs of male workers. This was the case for European prostitutes brought in the seventeenth century to the Francophone and Anglophone islands,¹⁶ and during certain periods of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, when there was a demand for African women or the forced coupling of slaves (Beckles 1989; Bush 1990; Kempadoo 1996). Today, Saint-Martin/Sint Maarten is like a contemporary expression of this process where we observe the general exchange of money, men, and women. Regional poverty is growing at the same time as fiscal havens increase in number and the women brought to the island as prostitutes are getting younger and younger. While we have no figures for Sint Maarten, the medical professionals whom prostitutes consult say that the women are getting younger, either because older women no longer wish to risk being contaminated by the AIDS virus, or because the older women are already infected. Many of the young prostitutes appeared to me to be sixteen or seventeen years old, at most. I was unable to verify the claim of a midwife, who knew certain prostitutes, that one of the brothels specializes in young pregnant prostitutes. A COIN (Centro de Orientación e Investigación Integral) report has ascertained that between

15. Heller 1997. *Prostitution has flourished once again since the late 1980s. Cuba is exemplary in the links between liberalism, tourism, and the development of prostitution in the Caribbean. Prostitution had virtually disappeared from the island between 1960-65 with the effort of social re-adaptation and re-education carried out by the Federation of Cuban Women and the Council for Social Defense (Rousse-Lacordaire 1997). In 1988, when tourism was decreed an engine for economic development, sexual tourism and child prostitution were developed on a large scale (Jarry 1994; O'Connell Davidson & Sanchez Taylor, 1996). Since 1998 and the laws making prostitution illegal in Cuba, prostitution has become less visible, but it would be difficult to claim that there is really less prostitution.*

16. For seventeenth-century Barbados, Jamaica, and the English Windward Islands, see Bush 1981:247; for Guadeloupe and Martinique, see Gautier 1985.

1992-93, in the Dominican Republic, young women between fifteen and nineteen years old accounted for 20 percent of the forty thousand prostitutes and that women between twenty and twenty-four accounted for 35 percent of the prostitute population (Harrantz 1994:74). In 1984 in Haiti, 30 percent of the prostitutes from Haiti or from the Dominican Republic were between fifteen and twenty years old; 40 percent were between twenty and twenty-five years old (Chanel 1994:15).

CONCLUSION

Legal and economic precarity underpin the social organization of Saint-Martin/Sint Maarten. The absence of protection against sexual exchange certainly points to cultural representations of sexuality that would be worth studying, as well as to social practices linked to poverty. Research has shown that in the United States, the poorest Afro-American women cannot force their partners to use condoms, even though they know that they have several partners (Sobo 1993). Prostitutes have the same problem because of their financial and legal precariousness.

According to the barmen and the women I met, condoms were not used in brothels before the 1990s. Today, prostitutes in brothels and in the dance bars are said to insist that their clients use condoms yet, given the skepticism raised earlier about remarks concerning the use of condoms, these affirmations would seem to belong to the brothel's official discourse of guaranteed safe sex. Clients say that if they pay slightly more, or insist strenuously enough, prostitutes stop insisting that they use condoms for fear of losing a client. Condoms are not used with one's "preferred" prostitute, a rather common relationship between regular clients and their favorite prostitutes. In these cases, a man comes several times a week to trick with his prostitute of choice whom he pays on a weekly basis rather than on a per trick basis. The woman, known as the "preferred" one or "my special" devotes herself to him as soon as he crosses the brothel threshold.¹⁷

Prostitution, one of the common forms of sexual relations, should be seen in the context of the region's neoliberalism. That prostitutes on Saint-Martin/Sint Maarten are foreign, as they are in many other regions of the Caribbean, reinforces their precariousness. Like most of their male compatriots, these women have no working papers and are therefore vulnerable – their contracts are never longer than three months and they stay on at their own risk, or they are forced to continue moving to other islands. The precarious situation and the flexibility of laborers who can be easily replaced,

17. The same is true in Haiti (Chanel 1994:12).

as translated by expulsions that are often illegal,¹⁸ holds true for immigrant men and women, whatever the labor being sold.

The Caribbean: male traffic, female slavery? I retain the terms traffic and slavery, even though some authors, such as Kamala Kempadoo, consider it inappropriate to speak about traffic since female prostitutes from the Caribbean, unlike those from Southeast Asia, can freely chose to augment their income by prostituting themselves. Can we really radically differentiate the prostitution that depends on organized networks into which young women are sold by their families or are abducted without any idea of what awaits them, from the barely less scandalous prostitution for which women chose to migrate? Is there any way to soften the fact that revenue from the prostitution of migrant women is put in the service of a liberal economy and of flexible labor? Kempadoo (1996) considers that exchanging sexual relations for wages, whether it occurs in a couple or in a context of "sexual commerce" is a survival strategy for women who do not have Western notions of love, affection, or couples. Do the empowerment strategies spoken about by women who chose the commerce of sex really target taking power? Isn't it more appropriate to speak about corporal reification in the service of a liberal economy? In a context of such extreme poverty, does the right to use one's body still exist? While this paper focuses on prostitution, thievery, the sale of organs, and the purchase of blood from individuals living in total misery should also be examined in the same way. Under the guise of cultural differences, we risk bypassing a geopolitical analysis, just as the psychological analysis of the mental frailty of females misses the same point.

In 1985, in Puerto Rico, a container from Saint Thomas bound for Saint-Martin/Sint Maarten was opened. In it, the bodies of twenty-eight suffocated Dominican women were discovered.

18. Asosyasion Solidante Karaib 1996; Bardinet & De Caunes 1997; Benoît, 1998.

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CECILIA GREEN

A RECALCITRANT PLANTATION COLONY:
DOMINICA, 1880-1946

INTRODUCTION: DOMINICA'S COUNTER-PLANTATION LEGACY

In multiple ways, Dominica was an anomalous British colony in the Caribbean. For one, its indigenous Carib population had successfully defended its territorial sovereignty for more than two centuries after the first contact with Europeans, forcing Britain and France, the main colonial contenders, to sign a series of treaties between 1660 and 1748 declaring Dominica (along with St. Vincent) a "neutral" island. The apparent invincibility of Dominica's Carib Indians was based in part on the island's formidable and near-impenetrable terrain. This unyielding topography would ensure further that Dominica would never sustain a significant plantation economy and would remain at best a "marginal plantation colony." Indeed, when Dominica was finally claimed and settled as a formal colonial project by the British after 1763, the attempt to establish a "normal" plantation structure and rhythm of life was interrupted over the next fifty years by chronic and unrelenting Maroon insurgency against the plantations. Dominica's Maroon force, escapees from earlier French and later British attempts to "plantationize" the island's frontier economy, was second only to Jamaica's among Britain's Caribbean colonies. In 1785 they resolved "to destroy every English estate in the island," and set about trying to do so (Marshall 1976:27). It took the British another thirty years to bring them under control.

The British had inherited an economy which not only accommodated a number of counter-plantation features, but whose plantation sector was small, organized around the cultivation of (mainly) coffee, had significant links to local (inter-island) markets, and was presided over by a French creole planter class that was as likely to be colored as white. Dominica's fron-

tier colonial economy had evolved incrementally as a place of refuge for those who lived, produced, and traded on the margins and in the interstices of the formal colonial order centered in the major (French) sugar islands. It was a location of secondary European and creole settlement for those who had been displaced by the monopolistic, racially exclusive, and monocrop sugar plantation regime which consumed the social and spatial landscape of Martinique and Guadeloupe, the nearby mother colonies. Dominica played both a sub-colonial provisioning function with respect to those islands and encompassed its own marginal, semi-feudal plantation sector. By 1763 when the British took over, a relatively diversified agro-export economy, dominated by small to medium-sized French and free colored-owned coffee estates worked by small slave workforces, had been established. These enclaves were also saturated in a culturally and linguistically Afro-French creole and paternalistic Catholic tradition.

The British attempt to impose a classic sugar plantation economy upon this base was doomed from the start. With the British takeover, the island's best lands, situated in the large river valleys, quickly came under the ownership of British sugar planters. However, fifty years later, in 1815, Dominica produced only 2,205 tons of sugar, compared to 11,590 tons produced by St. Vincent, another late-developing and minor sugar colony (Knight 1978:240). Coffee-producing Dominica did not become a predominantly sugar colony until the 1840s, and even that experience was shortlived and ended by around 1890 (Trouillot 1988:55-57). During the 1890s it was a less important sugar colony than tiny Montserrat with less than half its population.

This denouement was typical of Dominica's ambivalent engagement with plantation economy. Its history was characterized by the cyclical retreat and advance of the plantation export regime, deep hegemonic discontinuities, the struggle between Maroon or peasant and plantation, and the rise and fall of different export crops. Dominica achieved only brief interludes of plantation ascendancy, huge areas literally reverting back to "bush" in periods of plantation decline. Its sugar ascendancy lasted barely forty years; it was an entirely post-emancipation phenomenon, and was characterized by a hostile co-existence of absentee British sugar planters and their resident representatives, a local creole "colored" planter and political elite,¹ and a tenacious sharecropping, freehold and squatter peasantry. Michel-Rolph Trouillot (1988:56) notes that "between 1853 and 1883, sugar, rum, and molasses together accounted for 85 percent of the total value of Dominican exports whereas the second most important crop,

1. Honychurch (1984:98) describes these co-existing elite strata – "[t]he mainly French mulatto families and the white attorneys and government officials" – as "two high societies."

cocoa, contributed a mere 5 percent of such value.” By 1889, sugar and its by-products were in decline, accounting for only 44.3 percent of total exports.² Coffee and cocoa, peasant and lesser plantation crops, accounted for 26 percent of the value of total exports that year. For a brief while, the economic initiative was passed on to freehold peasants and tenant farmers and the sphere of subsistence production was amplified in the island’s accounts. However, it was not long before the estate sector rose to prominence once more, induced by special incentives which brought into being a new crop regime and overseas imperial recruits for a new planter class.

SUMMARY OF ARGUMENT AND EVENTS FROM 1880 TO 1946

In this paper I investigate (aspects of) the class and gender dialectics of development that unfolded in Dominica over the period 1880-1946, during one of its most critical boom-bust cycles of plantation economy. This cycle encompassed the state sponsorship, rise and decline of the lime industry and planter class, the subsequent coming into prominence of the peasantry in the island’s political economy and, belatedly, in Colonial Office policy, the masculinist recoding of peasant proprietorship and production forms, and the shifting roles and agency of women. These processes are all examined here.

At the turn of the century, the Colonial Office and its local representatives launched an aggressive program of financial incentives and infrastructural supports to induce the development – from overseas recruits – of a settler class in Dominica. Among the incentives provided were cheap Crown lands, property rights regulation and enforcement highlighted by massive land repossession from squatter and tax-delinquent peasants, ongoing agricultural extension and research, the development of markets and marketing institutions, roads and utility services, a labor migration scheme, and the training of “peasant boys” as “field hands” for the new estates. Despite all this, the experiment re-enacted the historic failure of the classic plantation model in Dominica. I argue, more implicitly than explicitly, that this was so because the recruits represented an incongruous transplant into an environment which lacked the *other* conditions for the creation of a planter class, most notably a wage labor force. The “maroon” proclivities of Dominica’s producer classes came out of those conditions which enabled them to sustain themselves, at least in significant ways (materially and ideologically), outside of the plantations. This counter-plantation tendency

2. Public Record Office (PRO), London, Colonial Office (CO), Annual Report, Leeward Islands 1889 (no. 9), p. 14.

took three prominent forms: outright rebellion,³ migration to preferred non-plantation regional locations,⁴ and the rejection of wage labor locally, either by total withdrawal from the estate sector or by forcing the planter class to accept sharecropping arrangements on the spatial and juridical domain of the plantation (Trouillot 1988:84-87). While sharecropping or *métayage* represented a compromise that had to be accepted, the colonial administration and local planters did everything in their power to deter the growth of a free peasantry (sometimes resorting to brutal repression) and, throughout the nineteenth century, sabotaged the expansion of an autonomous peasant economy in-between cycles of active plantation monopoly. With the demise of the lime industry and the convergence of wider imperial interests by 1930, Colonial Office policy acknowledged and even turned in favor of peasant development, proactively and statutorily recoding the latter in masculinist terms. Women, who had formed the larger proportion of the rural labor force over most of the 1880-1930 period, were now faced with a number of alternatives: accommodating or re-inventing themselves within propatriarchal peasant structures; seeking relatively autonomous entrepreneurial niches within or outside the rural economy; migrating to urban and overseas centers; and embracing increased educational opportunities provided by the colonial state. Most women appear to have exercised one or a combination of these options with a great deal of vigor and self-consciousness.

3. There were major rebellions in Dominica in 1844, 1853, 1893, and 1898. The distinguishing feature of all these rebellions or violent protests was the defense of land and property rights, typical of peasant or peasantized populations. This was particularly the case with the most significant of them, the 1844 "guerre nègre," which ended in brutal suppression for the participants, numbered at between 1,200 and 1,500. The authorities killed one of the ringleaders and placed his head on a pole at the village crossroads as a deterrent to others. Three hundred persons were taken prisoner and ninety-four eventually brought to trial, resulting in ninety convictions and one hanging. Four protesters had been killed by the militia who suffered no fatalities. See Chace 1989.

4. In seeking their fortunes abroad, Dominican migrants showed a preference for the gold fields of Venezuela throughout the 1870s, 1880s, and 1890s (Myers 1981:91). Trouillot (1988:113) reports that they left in the second half of the nineteenth century "to search for work in Crab Island, the Guianas, or Venezuela" and that "in 1893, 7,000 native Dominicans were residing in Venezuela." To place this figure in perspective: seven thousand represented over 25 percent of the entire 1891 population of Dominica. Emigration slowed down in the first decade and a half of the new century, during the lime industry boom. It picked up again after 1915 or so, flowing in the direction of the war in Europe, the cane fields of Cuba and the Dominican Republic, and eventually the oil refineries of Curaçao and Aruba. Dominicans do not appear to have participated heavily in the Panama exodus (Myers 1981).

AN ANGLO PLANTER CLASS IN DOMINICA?
HISTORIC FAILURE OF HEGEMONY

Dominica was almost the antithesis of Barbados in many ways, with its much smaller and less accessible population (often isolated in remote mountain enclaves), the extreme difficulty of sustaining a plantation and wage labor system there, and the immediate post-emancipation accession to formal political power, through elective control of the legislature, of a "Mulatto Ascendancy." In my larger comparative study of Barbados, Jamaica and Dominica, Barbados, as a "pure plantation economy," and Dominica, as a "marginal plantation economy," occupy opposite ends of a spectrum (Green 1998). Barbados' plantation economy monopolized its physical and socioeconomic landscape, which, moreover, was presided over by an entrenched and exclusive (and still extant) white plantocratic regime. The contrast with Dominica is graphically illustrated in the 1897 Royal Commissioners' remark regarding Barbados that "there are no Crown lands, no forests, no uncultivated areas, and the population has probably reached the maximum which the island can even under favourable circumstances support" (quoted in Richardson 1985:17). In Barbados the workers were trapped in the "located labor" system of the plantation tenancies with little hope of escape to independent or negotiable livelihoods. In Dominica "the contradiction between property relations on the one hand and labor and distribution relations on the other was obvious: planters owned the land, but sharecroppers could exploit the low supply of labor to impose distribution conditions more favorable to themselves" (Trouillot 1988:86). Relatively speaking, Barbados had the largest and most rooted white population in the British Caribbean; Dominica, the smallest and most transient.

Notwithstanding its production and income, the nineteenth-century sugar plantocracy in Dominica had never been a hegemonic class in a deeper sociopolitical sense. Not only were its historical roots in the island shallow, but also it occupied the most marginal corner of the Leeward Islands sugar colonial economy. Moreover, this unspectacular and largely absentee (or resident-surrogate) sugar elite had always been forced to share the political-economic landscape with older-established French creole and colored coffee planters and, most irritatingly for its members, an "overdeveloped" mulatto political class. This was in addition to a sizeable peasantry or would-be peasantry with a low commitment and obligation towards wage labor.

The "Mulatto Ascendancy" lasted until 1898, when one elected representative joined the nominated members to tip the balance in favor of Crown Colony government by one vote. The power bloc's historical weight

had been inversely related to the overall importance of Dominica's sugar economy. Its political defeat and the economic decline of sugar cleared the way for the resuscitation of age-old efforts to invent a "proper" planter class in Dominica, based on transplanted Englishmen and new export crops. The new presidency⁵ of Sir Hesketh Bell (1899-1905) provided the necessary infusion of energy and public capital required for this somewhat daunting mission. Attracted by the opening up of land in the interior, a new lime citrus industry with rising international market prospects, and advertisements in the *London Times* sponsored by President Bell regarding the new colonial opportunities, "thirty to forty [Englishmen] arrived in four years" (Boromé 1972:138; see also Trouillot 1988:112). Planters came from different parts of the empire, from as far away as Ceylon or South Africa (Trouillot 1988:121). Trouillot (1988:121, 62) notes that the "1911 Census shows 399 Europeans residing in the island, up from just 44 in 1891," and that between 1890 and 1924 some five thousand acres of Crown land were acquired mainly by new planters, who were among the beneficiaries of hundreds of thousands of lime plants distributed by the Botanical Gardens in Roseau.

In addition, more than two thousand laborers were recruited during the first decades of the century primarily from the sugar-producing Leeward Islands of Antigua and Montserrat – which were in a slump – to work on the new lands opened up in the interior and in the new lime industry (Myers 1981). For a while, Dominica, hitherto the most marginal, the most anomalous, and the most recalcitrant member of the Leeward Islands Federation, became the center of renewed hopes for monocrop colonial bounty. A number of cocoa and lime plantations were established, some by British multinational companies (Rowntree & Co., chocolate manufacturer, and L. Rose & Co., lime processing) and at least one by an American millionaire.⁶ For a period of about twenty years, exports of both crops increased. The lime industry accounted for 80 percent of all Dominican export value in the period 1922-28, before declining thereafter (Trouillot 1988:193).

5. Dominica was included in the newly created Federation of the Leeward Islands in 1871, and so was governed by a local president and a federal governor headquartered in Antigua. Part of the difficulty of recovering Dominica's history has been its transfer back and forth between administrative units as a colony. Dominica was made part of the Windward Islands Federation in 1763, became a separate colony in 1771, was put under the governor-in-chief of the Leeward Islands in 1833, and under the islands' new federal legislature in 1871. It rejoined the Windward Islands Federation in 1940, a much more appropriate placement in terms of socioeconomic structure and cultural make-up.

6. Andrew Green, "whose engineering company was making a fortune constructing the locks of the Panama Canal, . . . bought the Canefield estate, then still in sugar, converted it to limes, and set up the most advanced citrus-processing machinery to date, powered by both steam and water wheel" (Baker 1994:143).

Bell's aggressive settlement campaign and attempt to revive the plantation economy in Dominica ultimately ended in failure. A combination of inadequate and irregular labor supply, natural disasters and disease, and loss of international markets led many of the new settlers to "[abandon] their plantations or [sell] out one by one" (Boromé 1972:138). A devastating hurricane in 1916, government inability to maintain the roads (especially during the war), the imposition of a U.S. embargo on Dominican limes in 1918, a disease of lime trees in 1922, the cessation of war-related British navy demand for lime derivatives, the production of synthetic substitutes for citric acid, the collapse of cocoa prices – all conspired to produce a situation where "by 1925 cultivation had ceased on all estates in the interior crown lands save one or two" (Boromé 1972:138; see also Trouillot 1988:121). Limes, as primarily a coastal crop, continued to be produced elsewhere in Dominica, which for a brief while had become the world's leading producer, but the industry soon lost its hold over the island's economic landscape.

For twenty years after the Great Depression, Dominica's fragile plantation sector was largely in retreat, occupied by the occasional foreign agribusiness and white planter, a casualized and shifting force of wage laborers, and a symbiosis of "colored" landlords and black sharecroppers or tenant farmers. Cocoa and vanilla, which succeeded limes in prominence, were largely peasant-grown crops, and "signified an inward expansion in the direction of the mountains" (Trouillot 1988:63). When Dominica finally settled upon another preferred export crop some decades later (bananas), it was – initially and ultimately – largely grown by peasants and small to medium-scale farmers (however, bananas, too, has its plantation-rise-and-fall story).

THE RISE AND DECLINE OF THE LIME INDUSTRY AND THE NEW PLANTER CLASS EXPERIMENT

By the second half of the 1880s, cocoa had emerged as an important "peasant counterpoint" to the declining sugar enclave and the rising new estate crop, limes. In 1894, each of the three crops represented about 25 percent of export value, and by 1901, cocoa accounted for 36 percent of export value while the export value of limes had grown to 52 percent of the total.⁷ Despite the tremendous promise of peasant enterprise, the colonial government had decided in favor of the cultivation of limes and transplanted Englishmen. By 1901, Dominica had already "for many years been the

7. PRO, CO, Leeward Islands 1901-2 (374), p. 44; Trouillot 1988, p. 59 table 3.6 and p. 63 table 3.9.

world's chief producer of lime juice and its bye products."⁸ The tables below indicate the rapidly changing social and physical landscape of Dominica.

Table 1. Change in Composition of Dominican Exports, 1892 & 1902

| Exports | Value – £ | |
|----------------|-----------|--------|
| | 1892 | 1902 |
| Sugar | 17,000 | 1,500 |
| Cocoa | 9,700 | 29,000 |
| Lime Juice | 11,000 | 39,000 |
| Essential Oils | 3,000 | 3,368 |

Source: PRO, CO, Leeward Islands 1902-3 (416), p. 34.

Table 2. Shifting Size of the White Population in Dominica, 1891-1946

| Year | Total Population | European Population |
|------|------------------|---------------------|
| 1891 | 26,841 | 44 |
| 1911 | 33,863 | 399 |
| 1921 | 37,059 | 556 |
| 1946 | 47,624 | 142 |

Sources: Trouillot 1988:121; Myers 1981:91n.⁹

Table 3. Increases in Lime Product Exports by Value (£) 1900-1924

| Year | Export Value of Lime Products – £ | % of Total Export Value |
|------|-----------------------------------|-------------------------|
| 1900 | 35,410 | 51.7 |
| 1904 | 28,362 | 45.0 |
| 1908 | 51,924 | 46.4 |
| 1912 | 95,940 | 61.5 |
| 1916 | 172,352 | 88.5 |
| 1920 | 185,410 | 83.0 |
| 1924 | 136,600 | 80.9 |

Source: Trouillot 1988:Table 3.9, p. 63.

At the turn of the century, there were an estimated 8,691 acres of cultivated land and 177,549 acres of uncultivated land in Dominica, of which about 80,000 were cultivable Crown lands.¹⁰ Dominica was clearly an anomaly

8. PRO, CO, Leeward Islands 1901-2 (374), pp. 22, 44.

9. Significantly, Myers (1981:91n) notes: "The decline in 'whites' from 556 in 1921 to 142 in 1946 was the greatest in any of the British West Indies and the 1946 census report notes that this decline 'may possibly be explained by the variation of the classification' and the earlier exaggeration of the number of whites ... This is possible but local conditions already described which crippled the agricultural ventures of many planters seem sufficient to explain the decline."

10. PRO, CO, Leeward Islands 1898 (266), p. 23; 1901-2 (374), p. 22.

vis-à-vis the two principal islands in the Colony, Antigua and St. Kitts, which were smaller islands but whose populations were decidedly larger than that of Dominica (up till the first decade or so of the twentieth century) and whose sugar and related exports were six to seven times the worth of Dominica's exports. The value of "good cane land" in their monocrop sugar economies varied from £4 to £8 an acre, while Crown land was going cheaply at 10s an acre in Dominica. Before the Presidency of Sir Hesketh Bell only (a few) small farmers had bought land in the interior because of its inaccessibility and the lack of a supporting infrastructure of communications, services, and marketing. The years of "bounty sugar depression" (1884-1903), which put the northern Leeward Islands into a slump, represented years of rising prosperity in Dominica. As increasingly sanguine reports came out of lands opened up and new settlements established in the interior, the hopes of the Colonial administration in that part of the Caribbean seemed to shift to Dominica. The reports for the years 1900-15 were brimming over with enthusiasm for Dominica's progress and the prospects of the new settler class. The colony boasted record revenues during these years, accumulating surpluses that amounted to £28,166 in 1912 and £28,827 in 1913. In 1915, it was reported that "the revenue for the year exceeded the estimate by £2,000 and was the highest known, amounting to over £50,000."¹¹

Sales of Crown land to new settlers grew steadily for a number of years. There was a "marked influx of Englishmen possessed of moderate capital" in 1900 and over 2,000 acres of new lands in the interior were sold during the year.¹² Over the next few years the government continued to report brisk sales of Crown lands, in extensive blocks to settlers and small parcels to peasants: "No less than ten large estates, apart from those in existence before 1900, are being developed along [the new Imperial Road]."¹³ In 1904, another 1,900 acres of Crown land were sold to Englishmen and 900 acres in small lots to peasants. The corresponding figures for 1905 were 1,434 acres and 347 acres respectively, and for 1906, 983 and 725.¹⁴ In the latter year, the government calculated that in the past ten years it had sold over 5,000 acres of "forest land" to the newcomers and 1,200 to peasants.¹⁵ Judging from the above-cited annual reports, the latter figure may well have been an understatement.

11. PRO, CO, Leeward Islands 1915-16 (913), p. 14.

12. PRO, CO, Leeward Islands 1900 (337), p. 45. There were 49 new applications for large and small blocks of Crown land that year, 46 in 1901, and 94 in 1902. PRO, CO, Leeward Islands 1902-3 (416), p. 35.

13. PRO, CO, Leeward Islands 1904-5 (478), p. 43.

14. PRO, CO, Leeward Islands 1904-5 (478), p. 44; 1905-6 (518), p. 27; 1906-7 (539), p. 18.

15. PRO, CO, Leeward Islands 1906-7 (539), p. 32.

Some of the newcomers had also made private purchases of older cultivated estates. The area of land under cultivation and under formalized individual or corporate private tenure appears to have more than doubled during this period. In addition to regulating squatting and extending property rights to a new settler class, the government of Sir Hesketh Bell also settled "ancient" land claims by increasing the 232 acres over which the indigenous Caribs then had jurisdiction to 3,700 acres, and presiding over the official investiture of the Carib Reserve (now the Carib Territory).

In contrast to an approach to peasant initiative and industry that had traditionally been *laissez-faire* at best and punitive at worst, government policy towards the lime industry was strongly supportive and proactive. Apart from extensive infrastructural development (which initiated the integration of Dominica's isolated enclaves into something approaching an island-wide, if not national, economy) and various fiscal concessions, the government upgraded its work in crop research and development and maintenance of a nursery at the botanic station, establishing a world-class reputation for Dominica's "Botanical Gardens." Other kinds of agricultural extension services were provided, as well as rigorous practical agricultural training to peasant boys at the primary level with a view to their "supply[ing] a decided want in the economy of the Presidency." Moreover, knowing the propensity of Dominicans to stake out an independent existence for themselves, the government left nothing to chance and, as mentioned before, facilitated the immigration of hundreds of workers from depressed northern islands to ensure an adequate supply of "field hands" for the new plantations. According to the Colonial Report for 1902-3, "this influx of able-bodied men and women has, in some measure, relieved the tension of the labour-supply, and may be expected to contribute to the purchasing power of the community." With high prices obtainable on the world market for both cocoa and limes, the new planters went into both crops. However, they eventually lost interest in cocoa because of its vulnerability to unfavorable weather conditions and because the specialized manufacture of lime products began to consume all their energies and capital resources.

Limes were a hardier crop ("a lime tree blown over is not necessarily a lime tree lost") but required a greater investment of time and capital. They were more expensive and technically difficult to process, or even to handle and transport as whole fresh fruit because of their greater bulk vis-à-vis dried cocoa beans which were easily prepared for the market. For all of the latter reasons, cocoa was preferred by the peasantry. However, inclement weather and more readily available marketing opportunities and services eventually persuaded some peasants to make limes their cash crop of choice. Already the local owners of the "older properties" had come round to this position, and by 1912 the colonial government was reporting that

"except in a few instances in which the available areas are entirely planted, it may be stated that development of lime cultivation is proceeding on all the plantations in the island."¹⁶ According to their calculations, three hundred new acres were being planted in limes each year over this period.¹⁷

Apart from green and yellow limes, lime products were exported in seven major forms during the heyday of the industry, indicating a fair amount of capital and technical intensity – concentrated and raw lime juice, raw lime cordial, pickled limes, citrate of lime, essential oil of limes, and otto of limes. Between 1906 and 1921, as Dominica consolidated its position as the largest producer of limes in the world and a world-class reputation for the quality of its lime products, a total of five factories were erected (by L. Rose & Co. and Rowntree & Co. among others) for the manufacture of citrate of lime (4) and citric acid crystals (1). The lucrative green lime trade was almost entirely geared towards the U.S. market until a trade embargo in 1918 and the coming of prohibition prompted a reduction in imports of the fruit, which had largely been used as an ingredient in alcoholic drinks. L. Rose & Co., with at least three estates (the company would later acquire more), was the main exporter of limes and lime products, but a number of local "colored" merchants, most with estates of their own, were in the business of exporting agricultural produce as well.

After a record crop of half a million barrels in 1921, the lime industry of Dominica fell on more and longer lasting bad times. In addition to the destructive effects of hurricanes and diseases, the demand for Dominica's lime products was increasingly replaced by a demand for cheaply produced synthetic substitutes and Sicilian lemon juice. In spite of continuing high prices, the industry entered its final phase of pre-war decline in 1930 after suffering the third of three devastating hurricanes in four years. In the previous year, the government had reported only "three surveys for land and three applications for purchase."¹⁸ In 1927, with typical historical amnesia and impunity, the British Colonial Administrator of Dominica was blaming a nebulous group of "Dominicans" for putting all their eggs in one basket, while (himself) taking full credit on behalf of the "Imperial Government" for trying to set things straight:

Dominica may well be known for the past hundred years as the "one industry island"; hence the troubles she stored up for herself from the time of her delivery from the sword. First it was "coffee," then "sugar," then "limes." In each case there were years of plenty and then sudden collapse. It has taken over one hundred years for Dominica to learn the

16. PRO, CO, Leeward Islands 1912-13 (793), p. 14.

17. PRO, CO, Leeward Islands 1913-14 (841), p. 25.

18. PRO, CO, Leeward Islands 1929-30 (1520), p. 28.

truth of the story of the old lady who would put all her eggs in one basket. She has learnt it now, but not without sorrow and tribulation, and she is, with the assistance of the Imperial Government, which is here most gratefully acknowledged, putting her house in order and extending her cultivation in coco-nuts [*sic*], fruit trees, cocoa, coffee, vanilla, ginger, tobacco and other produce. Attention is being given also to varieties of limes immune from the devastating withertip disease. (*The British West Indies Year Book* 1928:237)

Between 1921 and 1937, acreage in limes (along with the English settler presence) declined by two-thirds (Baker 1994:144). In 1937 lime products contributed about 30 percent of the value of total exports, the remaining 70 percent being accounted for by a variety of peasant crops (bay oil, vanilla, cocoa, and above all bananas, which enjoyed a pioneering but brief pre-war surge) and permanent tree crops (coconuts, oranges and grapefruit, mangoes, and avocados), indicating a generalized reversion to the peasant labor process on and off the estates. The total export value was very low and peasants increased their reliance on subsistence food crops. Huge trade deficits became a normal part of Dominica's economic profile. Table 4 below records this shift in Dominica's trade profile between 1921 and 1937.

Table 4. Balance of Trade, Dominica 1921-26 and 1933-37

| Year | Value – £ | |
|------|-----------|---------|
| | Imports | Exports |
| 1921 | 221,821 | 207,783 |
| 1922 | 157,784 | 163,867 |
| 1923 | 150,955 | 122,668 |
| 1924 | 143,579 | 171,357 |
| 1925 | 146,204 | 125,596 |
| 1926 | 164,884 | 145,871 |
| 1933 | 123,057 | 44,988 |
| 1934 | 128,841 | 53,028 |
| 1935 | 114,828 | 57,486 |
| 1936 | 113,150 | 69,969 |
| 1937 | 125,372 | 73,061 |

Sources: *The British West Indies Year Book* 1928:242; *The West Indies Year Book* 1938:313.

TURNING POLICY AGAINST THE PEASANTRY

By the 1870s, sharecropping, characterized by intercropping of export crops and provisions or "catch" crops, had become the dominant mode of production on Dominica's estates. In addition, the growth in the numbers of

squatters and freehold peasants continued unabated right through the 1870s and 1880s (Trouillot 1988:84-97). Freehold peasants in this period tended to combine household and local-market farming with such export crops as cocoa and sugarcane. The Royal Commission of 1884 was told that the peasants were responsible for seven-eighths of the cocoa and one-seventh of the sugar produced on the island (Trouillot 1988:95). An 1894 report estimated the number of peasant properties in Dominica at over 1,500, and described "the bulk of the people" as "peasant proprietors" (Hamilton 1894:x). Trouillot (1988:97) reckons that by 1927 "the peasant labor process had invaded practically every unit of production in the country" and the "estates had virtually disappeared."

Two types of sharecropping tenancy became popular in post-emancipation Dominica, both resting on a compromise between producers determined to be relatively self-managing and large proprietors determined to ensure the continuity of estate production or, at least, estate property. As we have seen, estate production in Dominica has had a desultory and fragmented history, with long intervals of land lying idle or not coming under intensive export-monocrop cultivation in the classical framework of the "plantation economy." Sharecropping, therefore, often provided a way of simultaneously keeping the estate cultivated in valuable, permanent tree crops with relatively secure market niches and allowing the peasantry to grow short-term (or "temporary") food crops for subsistence and sale. (At other times sharecropping facilitated the sustained, intensive cultivation of export-driven cash crops.) One type of arrangement was that the tenant would plant "permanent" crops on the land and, for the duration of the maturation process, cultivate the land around with short-term "catch" crops (tubers and vegetables), which would be his or hers to dispose of. Upon maturation of the tree crops, the tenant was expected to deliver up possession of the land to the proprietor, receiving compensation for the estimated labor invested in the "productive trees." Another type of arrangement was the more universally known share system whereby the proprietor supplied land and tools and was entitled in return to one-half or more of the harvested product, whether permanent crops or "catch" crops (see Trouillot 1988:85). According to Trouillot, these arrangements essentially ensured the development of a peasant labor process upon the spatial and juridical domain of the plantation.

As in Jamaica (see Satchell 1990), the turn-of-the-century colonial administration in Dominica was concerned with preparing the setting for the age of imperialism by regulating the distribution of property rights, labor, and access to the international market in favor of the preferred race-class-gender group. Hundreds of small farmer properties were repossessed for non-payment of taxes and hundreds of squatters were forced to either

purchase the land of which they had been in de facto possession or evacuate. The government paid lip service to land settlement schemes for smallholders in the interior, but they reserved the best land for the English settlers and focused on providing infrastructural and extension services to the latter. Indeed, having made it exceedingly difficult for poor black rural dwellers to own their own land, colonial administrators never ceased to be amazed at the extent to which a "class of peasant proprietorship" was nonetheless emerging (quoted in Trouillot 1988:95). They found themselves caught between grudging respect for and approval of the industry and stability manifested by the peasantry on the one hand and anxiety over the colony's failure to generate a class of landless wage laborers and consumers on the other (see Trouillot 1989). Local planters were rather less equivocal in their view of the peasantry. In the words of one of them, "laborers are better off than peasant proprietors. When a laborer becomes a peasant proprietor he ceases developing" (Trouillot 1989:713). The tendency of the peasantry to retreat into the world of subsistence production and a self-sufficient lifestyle was regarded as particularly barbaric.

The attempts to artificially create a class of wage laborers and consumers in Dominica were doomed to failure because of the availability and relative cheapness of land and low density and isolation of the population. In this situation, the English settlers shared somewhat the fate of Marx's "unhappy Mr. Peel who provided for everything except the export of English modes of production to [the colony]" (Marx 1983:495). The English settlers in the interior lands were forced to pay more for labor than employers elsewhere.¹⁹ Land in the Caribbean was valued according to its suitability for cane cultivation and since most of Dominica's hinterland was not so suitable, Crown lands were sold at one-eighth to one-sixteenth the rate fetched by "good cane land" in the smaller sugar colonies.²⁰ According to the census of 1911, there were 1,260 "petty cultivators" in Dominica. The true figure, including tenants, squatters, and female and part-time farmers who identified themselves as something else (housewives, artisans, fishermen etc.), was probably significantly higher. (It is not clear what percentage devoted itself to lime production.) In the 1916-17 Colonial Report it was calculated that "for every 100 lb. of flour, corn meal, peas and beans,

19. In 1906, daily wages for agricultural workers were 9d or 10d for men, 7d for "lads" and 6d for women. In the interior, however, where labor was scarce (and many peasants grew cocoa as a cash crop), "rates rose to between 10d and 11d for women and about 1s 3d for men" (Brereton 1985:23).

20. Trouillot (1988:96) reports that total disbursements to the Crown for land payments in the first half of the 1906-7 financial year amounted to £838, "but most individual disbursements were under ten pounds." With land prices at 10s an acre and survey fees at 3s an acre, £10 would have bought a purchaser probably some fifteen and a quarter acres of land. Most peasant plots were in the under-five acre category.

and rice imported into Dominica per head of population in 1914-15, Antigua imported 180 lb. and St. Kitts 162 lb. per head.”²¹ It is certain that Dominica’s import requirements would have been even lower had there not been such an extensive shift to export cropping among small farmers. In fact when disaster struck the lime industry, the population had begun to enjoy a higher standard of living, which had increased their dependence on commerce, so that women in particular were forced to absorb the sudden reduction in cash incomes through the expansion of their work in the reproductive sphere.

RETREAT FROM THE ESTATES; BELATED PRO-PEASANT POLICY

Because of its different rhythm of development and the fact that it “lacked factories and was a peasant based society,” Dominica, like Grenada, was relatively untouched by the rebellions of the 1930s (Honychurch 1984:127). The island’s agricultural sector remained in the doldrums during the entire twenty-year period marking the interval between the virtual collapse of the lime industry and the taking off of the banana export industry (roughly 1929 to 1949). According to Brereton (1985:24), as late as the 1930s in Dominica “the great majority of the population earned no wages and depended solely on their own food crops.” As the collapse of the lime industry dovetailed with the Great Depression, “plantation after plantation went bankrupt” and “peasants retreated further into subsistence farming” (Baker 1994:144). “By 1937,” notes Baker, “the per-capita value of exports stood at 5s 9d, the lowest figure for the entire British West Indies, and the per-capita value of imports stood at £2 10s 7d, the second highest among the British West Indian territories” (Baker 1994:144). He continues (pp. 144-45),

The impact of this pattern of economic activity on the social structure of Dominica through the first half of the twentieth century was to polarize the urban political and economic centre and the isolated and dispersed rural peasantry, who were largely left to fend for themselves, locked into small, local networks in peri-island communities, some of which were accessible from Roseau only by boat.

Several efforts were made to stimulate peasant production for a fruit and vegetable export trade, and the newly created Dominica Banana Association, purporting to represent small farmers as a majority of its “clients,” signed its first contract in 1934 with a Montreal-based subsidiary of the United Fruit Company. That trade ended in 1942 when its ships became a casualty of war. In fact, peasant-grown vanilla was Dominica’s chief export during

21. PRO, CO, Leeward Islands 1916-17 (952), p. 16.

the war, marking the first time in Dominican history that “the primary export of the island was by and large produced through the peasant labor process,” intensively engaging men, women, and children (Trouillot 1988:134). During the period 1938 to 1947, more than one-quarter million pounds of vanilla beans were exported and Dominica ranked among the world’s largest producers. But, “as with other industries on Dominica, ... the vanilla-bean boom became a bust in short time” (Myers 1981:106).

With its belated recognition that Dominica was essentially “an island of peasant proprietors,” the government had set up a Peasant Information Bureau in 1927, headed by a salaried “Peasant Adviser.”²² According to Trouillot (1989:713), this decision was part of a general colonial policy re-orientation following the Great Depression “in favor of an export policy based on peasant production.” In Dominica, the collapse of the would-be planter class and of world markets for their products left the authorities with little choice. Shortlived export trades ensued, first in vegetables to North America, begun in 1929 under the auspices of a Vegetables Growers Association, and second, in bananas to Canada under the aegis of the Dominica Banana Association. The latter trade was interrupted by disease and World War II, but banana production in the Windward Islands, which Dominica joined in 1940 (switching from the Leeward Islands group), continued to be subsidized by the colonial government. As in Jamaica, banana production in Dominica was pioneered by small farmers, marketed through large landowning local agents (acting on behalf of the foreign company) and later taken up by the estates, especially the new foreign-owned estates of the post-war period. During the war, Dominica’s main export crop, vanilla – which fetched high prices on the U.S. market – was grown primarily by peasant cultivators and, in the familiar pattern, sold through an intermediary controlled by the landowning merchant class. The blockading of Madagascar during the war had created Dominica’s brief interlude of opportunity (Myers 1981:106). Provision (root crop) growing was also encouraged because of the isolation from global markets, and the acreage under cultivation (intercropped with vanilla, cocoa, and other crops) increased tremendously. Dominica emerged from the war period with a primarily subsistence-oriented peasantry, especially after the untimely collapse of the vanilla market. This is confirmed by the 1948 Colonial Report:

Foods for local consumption constitute a considerable proportion of agricultural production. The large numbers of peasant farmers practise subsistence farming to a great extent and they place the growing of ground provisions high on the list of staple foods. Surpluses of such foods form

22. PRO, CO, Leeward Islands 1927-28 (1419), p. 25; 1928-29 (1468), p. 33. See also Trouillot 1988:125; and Trouillot 1989.

a principal source of money income with these peasants. There is some trade in these food crops between the Colony and some of the neighbouring islands.²³

The table below gives some indication of Dominica's post-war economic position, poised as it was on the threshold of a new "banana era," which saw some revitalization of the lime industry as well. Not evident in the figures below is the finding of the 1946 agricultural census that there were 6,281 acres planted in bananas, almost as much as the acreage planted in "provisions" (*West Indies Census* 1948).

Table 5. Major Exports by Value, Dominica 1946-47

| Export Crop | Value – £ | |
|--------------------|-----------|--------------------|
| | 1946 | 1947 ²⁴ |
| Cocoa (raw) | 3,875 | 33,009 |
| Raw Lime Juice | 21,023 | 36,340 |
| Vanilla | 70,130 | 21,540 |
| Copra | 11,901 | 11,729 |
| Distilled Lime Oil | 32,024 | 30,068 |
| Bay Oil | 4,532 | 4,996 |

Sources: PRO, CO, Annual Report: Dominica 1948, p. 17.

THE SEXUAL DIVISION OF LABOR AND SHIFTING ROLES OF WOMEN

According to 1891 census figures, 81 percent of all Dominican women and girls over ten years worked outside the home, a figure surpassing even that for Barbados. Women and girls made up 56.7 percent of the working population, a proportion which appears to have increased in the ensuing decades of heavy male migration (available labor force data are not always disaggregated by sex). Like all the small islands of the Eastern Caribbean, Dominica was acutely affected by the predominantly male migrant flow of the four decades spanning in equal proportions the late nineteenth and early

23. PRO, CO, Annual Report, Dominica 1948, p. 17.

24. The unusually large fluctuation in the export values of cocoa and vanilla over 1946-47 was explained as follows: "The striking figures in the foregoing list are those relating to cocoa and vanilla. In the case of cocoa, largely on account of the increase in world prices, the value of exports rose very considerably. As regards vanilla, there has been a tremendous slump in the market for Dominica vanilla and in 1948 the industry dropped to one of insignificant export value owing to the lack of demand from abroad, principally the United States of America" (PRO, CO, Annual Report, Dominica 1948, p. 17).

twentieth centuries. The sex ratio reached an all-time low in 1901 (803 males to 1000 females), and it is clear that thousands took refuge in migration. However, Dominica did not experience quite the level of migration-induced gender imbalance suffered by St. Kitts and Barbados in particular. Indeed, Myers (1981:91-92) has pointed out that, at least during the decade 1881-91, the exodus of men was almost matched by that of women.

Before Withertip dealt a final blow to the lime industry, the planters were complaining bitterly of a dearth of labor and the troublesome restlessness of West Indian men in particular. Women had formed the greater part of the agricultural labor force for decades as elsewhere in the Eastern Caribbean but critical skilled and supervisory positions were reserved for men. Boys were the sole beneficiaries of vocational agricultural training in formal institutions, and, indeed, were valued more highly than women as workers, typically receiving 7d a day to women's 6d in the early 1900s (Brereton 1985:23). The 1930-31 Colonial Report (Leewards) put the "average wage of a labourer" within a range of 1s 3d to 1s 6d a day and the cost of "female labour" at 10d a day (the working hours of which were generally set at 7:00 a.m. to 5:00 p.m.). "Artificers" – meaning male artisans and tradesmen – made 4s to 6s a day.²⁵

The colonial government opened an agricultural school for boys in December of 1900, operated by the Imperial Department of Agriculture. This school was established in response to and anticipation of a demand for skilled agricultural labor on the estates of the new British settlers. It was specifically intended for peasant boys, who might be trained as "overseers ... on estates, or ... engaged in working on their parents' properties." In a self-congratulatory tone, the colonial report for 1907-8 stated that it was "gratifying to be able to state that the demand for good working boys from the school continues, and up to the present has exceeded the supply."²⁶ Not only was the system explicitly divided by class, but it should also be noted that only boys were trained for skilled "practical" jobs in agriculture in a situation where females comprised over half of all agricultural laborers working for others.

Women had access to family land, which tended to be minimally cultivated and used primarily as a residential base (because of collective tenure rights constraints), contributing to what authorities saw as land waste. They also had access to land in the following ways: in partnership with or through their spouses, in the form of small cultivation allotments (akin to the traditional "provision grounds") on the estates where they worked in a regular capacity, and less frequently as tenant and freehold farmers in their own right. Rural women, especially prior to the 1930s, worked extremely

25. PRO, CO, Leeward Islands 1931 (1607), p. 40.

26. PRO, CO, Leeward Islands 1907-8 (591), p. 17.

hard, living lives as far removed from secluded or "protected" domesticity as can be imagined. To an astute observer in the opening decades of the twentieth century, the attempts by the colonial authorities to privilege the "sons of peasant proprietors" through gender-exclusive agricultural training and limited land settlement schemes must have seemed strangely at odds with the on-the-ground reality of rural economic life. Women formed the greater part of the lime and cocoa estate working forces (doing such tasks as weeding, picking, crop preparation, bagging/packing, head transportation etc.) in addition to playing pivotal roles in the cultivation and marketing of domestic food crops and doing the bulk of household and family reproductive labor. The latter, it must be noted, was hardly a function of some spatially confined and psycho-emotionally amplified and specialized "private" sphere. Indeed, much of this labor was carried out publicly and entailed walking relatively long distances: fetching water from the nearest stream or public standpipe for daily household tasks, doing laundry at the river or stream, even the bathing and grooming of children and certain types of food and meal preparation were done in semi-public spaces. Girls were pressed into intensive household and family service at a very early age and boys only selectively so.

That women of the laboring classes were largely "public" creatures, moving and working "abroad," and subject to all the vicissitudes and volatilities (and official monitoring) of public life, can be clearly seen from the numbers among them committed to colonial prisons for petty offences and disputatiousness during this period. In the last decade of the nineteenth century, women formed over 40 percent of persons serving short-term sentences in local Leeward Island jails and an average of 36 percent of those confined at the central prison in Antigua to which more serious offenders from all over the Colony were sent.²⁷ Their numbers appear to have proportionately increased in the following decade, sometimes surpassing those of men at the local level. More women than men were committed to prison in Dominica (and St. Kitts) in 1903. Of the total of 314 imprisoned in Dominica for the year, 158 were women, 146 were men, and 10 were "juveniles."²⁸

During this period, women were primarily arrested for "disorderly conduct, using abusive language, and so on to assaulting and beating."²⁹ There was obviously a direct correlation between women's numerical predominance in the labor force (which increased through the first two decades of the twentieth century for most Eastern Caribbean islands, including

27. PRO, CO, Leeward Islands 1899 (308), p. 38.

28. PRO, CO, Leeward Islands 1903-4 (445), p. 18.

29. PRO, CO, Annual Report, Barbados 1901-2, p. 42. Women formed a majority of those imprisoned in Barbados during this period as well.

Dominica and St. Kitts) and their prominent representation in the population of convicted and imprisoned petty offenders. Even within the prison system, the colonial authorities knew that no invocation or allocation of a preconceived sexual division of labor could possibly contain the wide-ranging energies of the decidedly undomesticated female inmates. The government noted in its 1903-4 Colonial Report that the prisoners were employed "in cooking, baking bread for the other Government institutions, making and mending prison clothing and bedding, washing, cleaning, and other miscellaneous labour." In addition to these domestic-type pursuits, "a good deal of stone-breaking and quarrying [was] also done." With options such as these that might appear in other contexts eminently appropriate, the authorities nonetheless worried about adequately occupying the energies and talents of the women, admitting that "it is somewhat difficult to find suitable employment for the female prisoners, who, accustomed to the hardest of work outside, find prison life little more than dull."³⁰

By the second decade of the century, incarceration had significantly declined as a regular mechanism of social control, particularly in the case of women. This was in keeping with mounting anxieties regarding the domestication of working-class women and a proper differentiation of masculine and feminine roles.

Changes in women's reproductive behavior over the period also illustrates the relationship between economic and fertility regimes. Dominica's demographic profile was that of an undeveloped, unequivocally "pre-transitional," (extensively) open-frontier-type situation, with longer or shorter interludes of intense agro-export activity, but also with the typical colonial stranglehold on the possibilities and resources for economic development and expansion. Dominica's peasantized labor force was not held back by its own backwardness or "traditional" lifestyle, but by colonial exclusion and land monopoly.

It has been shown that dependence on subsistence-level wages and/or the sale of crops produced under labor-intensive and land-poor conditions induces an increase in the supply of proletarian or proto-proletarian/peasant family labor or, put another way, an increase in reproductive intensity (Medick 1976; Seccombe 1983). Conversely, isolation from the market and withdrawal into subsistence livelihoods might be expected to have the opposite effect. This rule of thumb proves to be uncannily predictive in the case of Dominica. The island's fertility fortunes followed closely the rise and fall of agro-export activity in the economy, reductions in the birth rate corresponding to a lull in this type of activity and a withdrawal into subsistence production, and increases corresponding to surges in production for the international market. Dominica's birth rate was relatively low in the last

30. PRO, CO, Leeward Islands 1903-4 (445), p. 18.

decade of the nineteenth century during which the slow transition from sugar to limes, as dominant cash crop, was taking place. It was part of a period of retreat (and imminent revival) of plantation economy, when wage labor and cash incomes were scarce (but everybody worked), and the peasantry was chafing under a heavy house and land tax burden which led them into occasional revolt. Because of the early phase-out of sugar and its misfortunes and the auspicious selection of a crop whose star was rising in the international market and which enjoyed full Colonial Office sponsorship, Dominica at the turn of the century embarked on an approximately twenty-five-year period of relative prosperity. This period coincided almost exactly with rising birth rates, which then went into decline in the late 1920s (with the demise of the lime industry), beginning a twenty-year lull that ended after the war and with the onset of the banana revolution. Between 1927 and 1947, Dominica's crude birth rate averaged 31.4, and less than 30 between 1935 and 1945, falling slightly below those for both Jamaica and Barbados (Green 1998:342-43).

While the 1925-46 period of return migration, economic depression, local rebellion, and global war was one of low reproductivity for Barbados and Jamaica as well, Dominica's situation represented the most severe (and the most structurally "endemic") form of retreat from monocrop plantation economy, commercial consumption and the international market, and into subsistence and non-plantation production. Even the brief interlude of peasant-grown vanilla exports during World War II did not represent a real commercial exchange for the growers since imports continued to be restricted. As pointed out before, high rates of peasant reproductivity tend to be articulated – externally or internally – to highly commercialized modes of production and consumption. This was precisely to become the case with the banana revolution and the small growers of the 1950s and 1960s (see Green 1998:342-43).

The retreat of the rural wage labor force into a predominantly peasant or peasantized mode of production resulted in women's disappearance from agricultural statistics as the concepts of employment and unemployment underwent a redefinition in men's favor. The particular conditions of the lime industry's collapse and the resulting unemployment converged with a generalized loss of international markets for tropical commodities and the return migration of male workers from Curaçao and the Dominican Republic to push women into domestic circuits of (re)production or out of agricultural livelihoods altogether. The 1930-31 Colonial Report notes for Dominica:

Unemployment has increased considerably during the past year. Not only have many labourers returned from Curaçao, but there is also very little employment provided by estates. It is hoped that with the assistance grant

ed from Colonial Development Funds for the repairing and remaking of many of the island's roads, the number of unemployed will be decreased.³¹

As indicated above, the 1930s marked significant efforts on the part of the colonial administration to nurture and organize an explicitly male cash-crop peasantry. Land settlement schemes quite explicitly targeted men. One such project, based on the government-owned Copt Hall Estate outside Roseau, was announced in 1938 and proposed to combine a demonstration farm and a land settlement scheme on the following terms:

In addition [to the establishment of a demonstration fruit farm], 100 acres will be apportioned in 10 acre lots for locally-trained sons of peasant proprietors, who will at first farm the land under Government supervision until such time as their produce is sufficient to enable them to purchase the holdings by easy payments. If successful, the scheme will be repeated in other districts. (*The West Indies Year Book* 1938:316)

Women were expected to assist and support male heads of the peasant household and enterprise, to be farmers' wives, not farmers in their own right or by definition, i.e. by virtue of what they actually did. As elsewhere in the Caribbean, however, while women were constrained and victimized by the sexual division of labor and property they were not effectively defined as dependants of men and they bore de facto responsibility for their own livelihoods and provision for their children. This in fact constituted a kind of contradiction in the structure of gender relations which provided women with the leverage to, first, define relatively independent niches for themselves within the peasant or petty commodity circuit of (re)production and, secondly, actively move out of the finite and constricted patriarchally defined space encompassed by peasant or small farmer property and seek alternative and more flexible means to economic independence. During the 1930s, the decline in estate production and the return of male migrants intensified women's struggle for a respected place in the rural economy at the same time that place was being undermined by renewed colonial attention to and recoding of the class of peasant proprietors in pro-actively masculinist terms. While that struggle remains largely undocumented, it would be a mistake to see women's responses as confined to the simple binary of either retreating into the background or exiting entirely from the small farming sector. The situation in Dominica would particularly preclude such a view because of limited urban opportunities and the continued regional isolation of population settlements. The value systems of the local communities and the central colonial authorities, while they intersected at the high points of hegemonic concentration, diverged significantly from one another.

31. PRO, CO, Leeward Islands 1930-31 (1566), p. 28.

er at the everyday level. Although the increase in provision or food-crop cultivation and marketing may have rendered women less visible to the colonial authorities, their pivotal role in both may well have elevated their worth and status in the eyes of the community.

However, the situation was beset by contradictions and increasingly women came to see their destiny as bound up with the movement towards the urban center. Indeed, with the onset of war and war-induced shortages, the colonial administration became alarmed at the increasing evidence of this movement and "urged the people to reverse the drift to the towns, and go back to the land and plant foodstuffs" (*The West Indies Year Book* 1941/42:386). It may not have occurred to "His Honour the Administrator" to make a special appeal to and provide special incentives for farming women.

Among the rural population, education was increasingly perceived as a means to desirable alternative livelihoods for daughters. During the entire period of economic decline and retreat from dynamic plantation dominance, girls accounted for over 50 percent of primary school enrolment, and had proportionately higher attendance rates than boys. Hundreds of more girls attended schools than boys. In 1927, 56 percent of registered female students attended school compared to 53 percent of registered males; eleven years later the rates were 66.1 percent for girls in contrast to 63.7 percent for boys (Green 1998:Table 8.21, p. 415). While the higher rate of school attendance among girls (who formed roughly half of the school-age population of five to fifteen-year-olds) was initially a function of the *lack of* an alternative (as boys expected to become farmers or skilled workers through informal apprenticeship, and were constrained to begin their income-earning careers earlier), it quickly became the most significant means to an alternative, providing girls and women with the "universalistic" elements of certification – or at least the literacy and numeracy – they needed to enter the urban and increasingly the "modern" peripheral-capitalist labor market.

However, female predominance in enrolment and attendance (at both primary and secondary levels incidentally) needs to be qualified by low levels of schooling overall and the fact that more boys than girls tended to get "advanced" training at all levels of the formal school system as well as outside it. In 1937, just over 62 percent of Dominican children between the ages of six and fourteen were enrolled in school (Brereton 1985:42-43); in 1948-50, that enrolment figure had risen to three-quarters of all primary school-age children (five to fifteen years). Attendance, as we have seen, was even lower (see Green 1998:Table 8.21, p. 415).

In Dominica's 1946 census figures, the exodus of women from agriculture, though not as pronounced as in some other islands, was nonetheless clearly in evidence. There had been a recomposition of the rural labor force in favor of peasants and men. The agriculturally occupied population

(11,364) was almost identical in size (but very different in composition) to that of 1891 (11,386) and only 12 percent less than that of 1911. Between 1891 and 1946 the population increased by 76 percent and the proportion of the gainfully occupied population engaged in agriculture decreased from 73 to 53 percent (West Indian Census 1950). The trend of female exodus and *male* (cash-crop) peasantization was already well underway. It was distinctly identified by the census narrative, which read: "The apparent stability between 1891 and 1946 [masks a rise in the males and a decline in the females and] also masks a continuous rise in the numbers described as farmers and a corresponding decline in the numbers described as agricultural labourers" (p. 1). Men now made up 60 percent of the agricultural labor force, half of them as small farmers. Conversely, 70 percent of the women in agriculture were wage laborers, although fewer than 60 percent of all workers in agriculture were in the latter category.

In 1946, Dominica resembled a less "developed," less diversified and smaller-scale version of Jamaica in fundamental respects. These two islands (along with Grenada) showed the highest levels of relative peasantization among the emerging post-plantation West Indian economies, with the difference that Dominica's economy was still overwhelmingly rural. Also, the real and apparent (classified) departure of women from agriculture and the labor force as a whole was on a significantly smaller scale than in Jamaica.³² Nearly 50 percent of employed women were still in agriculture in Dominica in 1946 and women made up close to 50 percent of the agricultural wage labor force. However, the pattern was unmistakable: a growing prominence of the male smallholder category as a proportion of the rural and total labor force even as women were leaving agriculture. This led, as in Jamaica, to a kind of sexual dimorphism in the occupational structure that was closely correlated with the "dual economy" or the co-existence of modes of production.

CONCLUSION: MALE PEASANTS, PLANTATIONS, AND ENTERPRISING WOMEN

In 1946 Dominica stood poised once more on the threshold – or should we say brink? – of another period of plantation revitalization. However, this time, the peasantry was more entrenched as a part of Dominica's ecological, social, and economic landscape; it had acquired a legitimacy that would soon be translated into political terms³³ and that would in fact take on, in

32. It was not until 1970 that Dominica's gender-stratified occupational profile in agriculture would most closely resemble Jamaica's 1943 profile.

33. Dominica got universal adult suffrage in 1951 and self-government shortly thereafter.

political rhetoric, the status of untouchability. Not only would Dominica repeat the plantation-peasant cycle with bananas, but it would once more put all its eggs in one basket, and develop the highest level of dependence on the banana industry among the Windward Islands. In 1950, we again hear Colonial Office sounding an unguarded note of optimism: "it is generally accepted that during 1950 the increased expansion of banana cultivation, coupled with the Government Road Programme, provided practically full employment in Dominica with the exception of the isolated Windward District."³⁴ British corporations like the Commonwealth Development Corporation (a statutory corporation), L. Rose & Co., and Geest Industries purchased thousands of acres in estate lands for banana and citrus cultivation during the late 1940s and the 1950s. Ultimately (during the 1970s), their story would end in popular protest and corporate divestment, and small farmers would prevail as the backbone and mainstay of the banana industry. The banana revolution of the 1950s and 1960s would constitute the single most important feature of Dominica's development to date, spawning the emergence of a "modern" black middle class, but also ushering in a new and somewhat dangerous form of peripheral-capitalist dependency. By far the biggest winner in this revolution has been the global marketing corporation that controlled the Windward Islands banana trade for most of its history.

In conclusion any implied story of the triumph locally of small-farming patriarchs needs to be qualified by a reconsideration of the context of local property relations and of the role of women. First of all, whatever the highs and lows of plantation activity and despite an increased incidence of land ownership and freehold tenure, patterns of land ownership in Dominica continued (and continue) to be remarkably skewed. Between 1946 and 1961, there was a threefold increase in the number of small holdings between five and ten acres and a 28 percent increase in those under five acres, although the average size of the holdings within each category decreased somewhat.³⁵ During that period, concentration of land ownership actually increased slightly, with about 2 percent of holdings accounting for a little over 60 percent of total acreage. There is no evidence today of a substantial shift in these statistics in spite of the "final" demise of the plantations. Small farmers are critical for the tiny incremental contributions that make up perhaps 40 percent of banana exports, but the bulk of those exports are supplied by no more than 25 percent or fewer of the growers, mostly

34. PRO, CO, Annual Report: Dominica 1949 & 1950, p. 11.

35. Baker 1994:Table 9, p. 148. Baker's 1970 figures in this table are clearly in error; so also is his calculation, apparently based on those figures, that "between 1946 and 1970, there was a 32 per cent increase in the number of small holdings, and a 77 per cent increase in the number of acres in small holdings" (p. 147).

medium- to large-scale farmers (at least in the context of Dominica). This qualifies, although it does not deny, the fact that post-war Dominica has been a small farmer-driven economy in terms of production, reproduction, and consumption.

In 1946, as the island stood on the threshold of the banana revolution, the ground was being further prepared and secured for male entitlement in dominant property relations and transactions. The long-established tendency of the imperial government to entitle men over women was, if anything, consolidated in the post-war period, as males of the subaltern classes were brought into the equation of national stewardship as second-order beneficiaries and trustees. Preference for males, however, had far from dispossessed women; it generated a strong constraining force, not closure. It must be recalled that the West Indies – particularly as embodied by the Afro-Caribbean peasant enclaves of islands like Jamaica, Dominica, and Grenada – has had one of the most prominent post-colonization female farming traditions in the world.³⁶ In 1946 Dominica, women made up 30 percent of small farmers (as independent principals; co-principalship would significantly raise this census figure). In addition, women were the central figures, as independent agents, in the domestic food trade. Their huckstering function enabled the critical reproduction of the subaltern circuits of food production and consumption which articulated with the dominant modes of export production. Women also dominated the educational and (largely public) professional-services profile of the colony, although in profoundly gender-typed ways and in the context of very low levels and a very narrow range. There were twice as many female as male schoolteachers in Dominica in 1946, this occupational group forming the largest category of “professionals” in the colony. Nurses, all of whom were women, comprised the second largest professional grouping.

While the majority of them were agricultural laborers and domestic servants in keeping with the general Caribbean experience, Dominica’s working women encompassed forms specific to the peasantized islands as well as at least one unique twist in 1946. The “sexual dimorphism” referred to earlier generated a pattern whereby (non-ruling class) men were dominant in the small-property economy or petty commodity modes of production, the skilled trades, the higher professions and upper (private and public) management, and women were dominant in domestic service, petty trading, and, increasingly, the bulk of white collar and (semi-) professional service as well as lower clerical occupations. Interestingly, Dominica in 1946 appeared to contravene this pattern in one critical category – that of “owners, managers and officials” – which one would expect to be heavily dom-

36. To make a comparative assessment, see the discussion and statistics in Boserup (1970) on global patterns and also the discussion in Safa (1986).

inated by males. Instead, in a statistical twist unique to Dominica, women made up 61 percent of the census classification.³⁷ The category was made up of persons owning and managing non-farm industrial and commercial enterprises as well as "officials not otherwise defined" from the public service group (West Indian Census 1950:lviii). Throughout the Windward Islands, this category was overwhelmingly dominated by tiny retail shops (typical of small, underdeveloped third-world economies), the majority of which operated solely with (sometimes makeshift) family assistance. In the Windward Islands, and especially in Dominica (which had received virtually no Asian or Portuguese immigrants), there was no minority ethnic group which occupied a specialized "shopkeeper" niche. This meant that the micro-retail trade was often in the hands of better-off villagers or members of working-class communities, and many of the shopkeepers must have been single women or spouses of farmers or skilled workers. In Dominica, women dominated this group by virtue of superior numbers, weighting the entire category in favor of their gender.

Such evidence of "enterprising women" continues to be strong in contemporary Dominica, in spite of a dominant masculinist discourse which persists in alternately trivializing, disempowering, celebrating in patronizing and tokenistic ways, or expressing resentment and alarm at this tradition.

37. West Indian Census 1950:Table AE, p. lix, reports 222 to 142 men.

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THE JAMES VERSIONS

C.L.R. James: His Intellectual Legacies. SELWYN R. CUDJOE & WILLIAM E. CAIN (eds.). Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1995. x + 476 pp. (Cloth US\$ 55.00, Paper US\$ 19.95)

C.L.R. James on the "Negro Question." SCOTT MCLEEMEE (ed.). Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1996. xxxvii + 154 pp. (Paper US\$ 16.95)

C.L.R. James: A Political Biography. KENT WORCESTER. Albany: State University of New York, 1996. xvi + 311 pp. (Paper US\$ 19.95)

"Why is there no socialism in the United States?," asked the German sociologist Werner Sombart (1906:43) in a famous essay at the beginning of the present century. Immigrants, it is true, had brought socialist notions with them in the middle of the past century, and had caused some anarchistic wavelets in the 1880s; there had been radical protest movements such as the Grangers, and a fledgling third party like the Populists; there were famous social critics and utopians like Henry George and Edward Bellamy, but – in striking contrast to other parts of the Hemisphere – a socialist movement of any political weight never came off the ground.

When, in 1938, the Trinidadian man of letters and political activist C.L.R. James arrived in the United States from Britain, Sombart's question, if he had known it, would not have worried him. A committed Trotskyist, he joined one of the tiny groups or "tendencies" of the same persuasion, which all were driven by a quasi-religious fervor that would be able, they believed, to eventually move the mountains standing in their way. Much of the abundant material that James wrote as an activist during his North American years demonstrates his unshakable faith in "that unfailing insight into the fundamental processes of historical development, so characteristic of our great predecessors" (James 1943, in McLemee p. 107). It is also replete, of course, with the familiar hermetically defined quasi-scholastic

categories ("petty bourgeoisie," "proletariat"), and it makes use of all rhetorical tricks of the believer's trade ("inevitably," "logically and historically headed for," "Marxism has demonstrated the only way," etc.).

Yet, the useful selection (with an excellent Introduction) by Scott McLemee of James's hitherto hardly accessible writings on the "Negro Question" also shows that in the fifteen years prior to his deportation from the United States in 1953 James did more than merely develop his own views on the tactical and strategic aspects of the "race" struggle and the theory that should lie at their basis. His travels and lecturing throughout the country also put him, the perceptive and intrigued outsider, in touch with everyday life, with concrete social problems and conditions which he described in vivid and convincing detail (see, for example, "With the Sharecroppers," "White Workers' Prejudices").

It had been Trotsky himself who asked James to go to the United States and help his comrades of the Socialist Workers Party with their "Negro work," and in 1939 James went to Mexico to see the great man himself. Trotsky – who a few years earlier was still wondering if the Southern blacks had not preserved a common African language, hidden from the whites (McLemee p. xix) – had long been insisting that his followers in the United States pay more attention to the black minority. He wanted James to serve as a guide in this matter, and in Mexico James gave him his views. He did not accept the Communists' "Black Belt" concept (made public by the Communist International in 1929) which offered an independent state to the blacks if, after the Revolution, they so wished. James, who was impressed by the massive response to Marcus Garvey but despised his goals (Back to Africa) and his populist ways of operating, wanted to build a new "Negro mass movement," not necessarily socialist, fighting for "the day-to-day demands of the Negro" (McLemee pp. 10-11). He later refined his thinking in this respect, arguing on the one hand that race consciousness "increases in direct ratio with the development of capitalism and the possibilities of liberation," while at the same time insisting that the Trotskyist party should recognize the "fundamentally progressive tendency" of the "[race] chauvinism of the oppressed" which can make great contributions to the struggle for socialism (McLemee pp. 86-87). He thus tried to bridge the gap between his unfailing confidence in the ultimate victory of "universality" – a favorite term of his – and his admirably early recognition that in everyday life and thought "race" is more than the epiphenomenon that orthodox theory – socialist as well as liberal – considers it to be.

During his American period (which, due to the war, was to last so much longer than the few months James had had in mind), he slowly moved away from the workers' state thesis of the Trotskyists, and toward a quasi-anarcho-syndicalist view that emphasized the self-activity of "the masses"

(which lay at the roots of the Trinidadian *Tapia* movement, started in the sixties by his young friend Lloyd Best).

Intriguing as some of his theorizing and pamphleteering was, the obscurity of much of it is the more depressing and risky because, as is generally the case with religious sectarian debates, our salvation is supposed to depend on it. As Kent Worcester points out in his carefully written and well-balanced political biography, the Trotskyist "tendency" to which James belonged was simultaneously a workshop on theory, a political faction, and a social network. With so many functions and such an exciting goal, the "membership came to expect great things from what was, in the final analysis, a small leftist clique," full of "anger and frustration" (Worcester p. 85).

Yet, contrary to the narrower, perhaps even monomaniacal interests of some of his activist-friends, James's Trinidadian past as a budding novelist and playwright and his wide humanistic erudition helped him, in this same period, to move easily in other circles and make friends with artists like the singer Paul Robeson and the novelist Richard Wright – and not only because they, though communists rather than Trotskyists, shared much of his ideas about "the Negro question." He further developed a keen interest in American history and popular culture, producing as one of its fruits a manuscript on American Civilization which remained unpublished until after his death (James 1993). It was his enjoyment – unusual at the time for a serious intellectual – of all forms of "mass culture" that gave him his keen and "modern" interest in the interplay of art and audience. All these interests and endeavors provided him with a liberating space outside the asphyxiating and increasingly poisonous air of his little Trotskyist grouping of which he later wrote that all his energies spent there had been "absolutely useless" (Worcester p. 113).

If we look at the limited impact of James's publications during his American years, the question arises why (especially after his death in London in 1989), his reputation, notably in university circles and particularly in the United States, changed in a few years from marginality to ever warmer and more sustained attention, with the founding of a C.L.R. James Society and a C.L.R. James Institute, as well as a large and rapidly increasing number of conferences and publications on the man and his work.

In *C.L.R. James: His Intellectual Legacies*, itself the impressive result of such a conference at Wellesley College in 1991, Selwyn Cudjoe and William Cain rank James with the likes of Toussaint Louverture, Dessalines, Frederick Douglass, W.E.B. Du Bois and Mahatma Gandhi, among others (p. 1). The book's twenty-seven contributions, which range from personal memoirs to an analysis of the gender dynamics in James's early and only novel *Minty Alley* (1936, but written in 1928) to a critical examination of philosophic divergences within James's Trotskyist "tenden-

cy," suggest in their totality an exhaustive coverage of the man's life and works. This may easily lead to an eager reader's exhaustion, especially as not all of these essays are easily digestible.

In an afterword to this same volume Paul Buhle, James's first biographer and first anthologist, addresses the matter of James's increasing popularity in some detail. Buhle's *C.L.R. James Anthology* was published in 1970, one year after the U.S. ban against James had been lifted, when he had started lecturing there again. The book attracted some attention, Buhle writes, among a divided audience – "mostly white readers (New Leftists drawn to class or culture themes)" and "black readers (intellectuals of all generations, but mostly young people interested in a radical black writer with Pan-African connections)." But a wide audience James did not live to have. He did not "take," writes Buhle, and "perhaps the idea of him was more attractive than his actual writing." The "elusive quality" of James was fascinating to some, "but daunting to many others" (p. 441). "Dead, James could be summed up better than in life," and Buhle himself had been "working rather frantically against that deadline, so to speak" to have his biography ready (p. 443). The eloquent teacher, the charming conversationalist, the brilliant theoretician could now be eulogized by friends and admirers.

Not everyone belonged without qualification to this latter category. The British (not "Caribbean") intellectual Gordon K. Lewis who is seen by Buhle (p. 448, note 1) as generally mean-spirited in his treatment of James, wrote of James's "egocentrism reaching almost paranoid dimensions" (1968:222), a qualification which interestingly contrasts with the "natural modesty" that the equally British Labourite Michael Foot ascribes, in the same volume, to his old friend and hero (p. 98).

James's life and work could now be seen in the broader, even global, perspective of the ongoing black struggle over nearly our entire century, as well as of the apparently nearly finished history of "real existing socialism." Memorial meetings, a BBC special, the founding of the Institute and the Society – it all came together now, even coinciding (now that the cold war was over) with new spaces for the intriguing particularities of black culture and African studies next to the older and rigid political radical orthodoxy, a postmodern edifice in which part of James's ideas, republished and re-created, was to have its niche.

But, one should add, there was more to it than that. When James died there were, both in Britain and in North America, much larger contingents and constituencies of Anglophone West Indians than when he first arrived there. There were poets, novelists, academics of renown (Derek Walcott, V.S. Naipaul, George Lamming, Wilson Harris, Stuart Hall), and popular Trinidadian artists such as Mighty Sparrow with a wide following there,

who had respected and not seldom admired him. George Lamming once called him "the sharpest and most interesting mind that the British Caribbean has produced in three centuries of learning" (1984:47). They all felt indebted to this singular man and intellect who, born in 1901, had critically witnessed earlier and longer than they, what Walcott, in an impressive and cautious interview included in the Cudjoe and Cain volume, calls the simultaneous "sunrise of the Caribbean and the sunset of the British Empire" (p. 37), between which James did not make a distinction. And there were those like Edward Said who, intrigued by similar phenomena elsewhere, had quickly felt and expressed an affinity with James.

All his life he carried with him at least two advantages of his Trinidadian origin. One was his education at home and at the famed Queen's Royal College in Port of Spain. He was the child of an ambitious teacher/civil-servant father, and a book-loving mother who, "her pince-nez on her Caucasian nose," as James later wrote, "would be reading till long after midnight" (cited by Grimshaw in Cudjoe & Cain p. 23). The young James eagerly absorbed what the school, exemplary in the great British tradition, had to offer in classics, cricket, and self-discipline. He went on to teach there himself, while also writing for periodicals and finishing *Minty Alley*.

The second advantage was that his particular, middle-class, Trinidadian environment, while of course not free from racist offense, left, as he later observed, no scar on his psyche (Worcester p. 12). When, in 1932, he left for England to further a writing career, he became one of the small number of young black intellectuals from different parts of the Empire, whom the larger British society (and certainly the radical circles in which they moved) saw as exotically interesting and treated as such. His publisher Frederic Warburg later described him as "noticeably good-looking ... Immensely amiable, he loved the fleshpots of capitalism, fine cooking, fine clothes, fine furniture, and beautiful women, without a trace of the guilty remorse to be expected from a seasoned warrior of the class war" (1959:214, cited in McLemee p. xii).

He developed, moreover, into an acclaimed cricket critic. The ease with which James moved around in England did not dim his radical views; almost nightly he would address public meetings with his anti-Stalinist rhetoric. Nor did his stay in Britain lessen his anti-colonialist fervor. Together with Kenyatta, Nkrumah, the Trinidadian George Padmore (whose birthplace was close to his) and others, he gave form to the Pan-African movement and its ideals of an independent Africa and a free West Indies.

He had, then, already matured into a person at ease with himself when, after arriving in the United States, he observed, and was for the first time subjected to, the harsher forms of discrimination (Worcester p. 57). This

made it possible for him to dissect the “race problem,” as he now encountered it there, in a remarkably cool and detached manner. Part of his intellectual energy in the coming years would be spent, as we have seen, on clarifying and codifying the relationship between the particularity (and hitherto often underestimated importance) of “race” and the universality of “class” in such a fashion that he could still call himself a Marxist. The existential entanglement of such a relationship was also familiar, of course, to his Jewish comrades in the United States who back in Europe had embraced Trotskyism (or other varieties of Marxism) without necessarily wishing to disclaim the social importance of their religious/cultural identity.

A girl from this group became his third wife. (The first had been a Trinidadian of “Spanish descent” (Worcester p. 25), and the second a Californian model and activist, Constance Webb, whom he had entranced with his letters on love and Trotskyism; one of his affairs in between had been with a married Dutchwoman – in his words, a “ravishing blond” [Worcester p. 51].) In his old age in London the anthropologist Anna Grimshaw took constant care of him, ordering his archives and actively promoting his intellectual legacy (see Grimshaw’s essay in the Cudjoe & Cain volume).

James had charm, wit, and joie-de-vivre, but he could also show a scholastic tenacity that was not always appreciated. When Trotsky had asked him to go to the United States, writes Worcester, he may “also have been hoping to remove an awkward sectarian from the troubled British Trotskyist movement” (p. 50). James, on the other hand, had hoped to be back in Britain in time for the cricket season, but the War prevented that. Once back in London, in a one-room apartment, he emphasized, without denying the fruits of his long North American sojourn, that “my education, the books I was brought up on, the sports, were all British. I feel at home here” (Worcester, p. 208). Is it due to a similar sentiment that the brief biography of James in a recent British anthology of West Indian writers (Wambu 1998:172) does not mention his North American years at all?

Nor did he miss the West Indies. He had never gone back there, not even when, in the 1930s, his adored mother lay dying. In 1958, it is true, he accepted an invitation to help prepare for the coming independence of what proved to be the short-lived West Indian Federation, and he briefly served as the editor of *The Nation*, the mouthpiece of the People’s National Movement, but his relations with its leader Eric Williams (a friend and once his pupil at Queens Royal College) were fraught with mutual political and personal irritation. Already in 1960 he was “expelled” from the party (as Williams put it – see Milette’s essay [p. 337] in Cudjoe & Cain; Cudjoe & Cain [p. 5] speak rather of “resignation”). James left Trinidad again for London in 1962, just before the official proclamation of independence.

When, three years later, he put his feet again on Trinidadian soil, as a cricket reporter for a British daily, he was promptly put under house arrest as politically dangerous. That same year he returned once more, this time in an unfortunate and misjudged effort to oppose and dethrone the powerful Williams at the polls in 1966 with a Workers and Farmers Party led by himself and two (oil) trade union leaders-turned-politicians. In Tunapuna, his birthplace and home constituency, he obtained 2.8 percent of the popular vote, an outcome representative of the overall dismal result (Worcester p. 171). It was not the first time that James, who generally is described as restrained and balanced in his personal behavior, got carried away by strong emotions. His enthusiasm for causes (Africa) or persons (Nkrumah, Rodney, Williams) could bring him to high praise and expectations first, and then to caustic criticism, even disdain, when they did not conform to the rules that he had set. In Trinidad, his influence lingered on after his departure in 1966. In an interesting essay, James Milette suggests that some of James's close associates were behind the military insurrection of 1970 (in Cudjoe & Cain p. 345).

The two books through which James's name will live on for a wider public were not written in the country which, perhaps more than others, honors him now. *The Black Jacobins* (1938) was conceived before he ever left Trinidad (Worcester p. 30). *Beyond a Boundary* (1963) was certainly indebted to insights ripened in the United States. But both were written in the England where he could not help but feel at home. In London, *The Black Jacobins* had been preceded by James's play *Toussaint l'Ouverture*, which was performed there with his friend Paul Robeson in the title role (Worcester p. 35).

In the course of the years, thousands of Anglophone readers have learned all they will ever know about Haitian history from James's powerful and engaging book about the country's national revolution, with its bafflingly complex relations between "blacks" and "mulattoes," and with a hero whose only shortcoming appears to be a certain aloofness from "the masses." The story itself is gripping, and James imbues it with a contagious confidence in yet-to-come triumphs of "the masses" against their masters elsewhere. Indeed, in a separate volume, *A History of Negro Revolt* (1939), he focuses (rather sloppily, says Worcester [p. 40]) on black rebellions elsewhere in the Western Hemisphere and in Africa.

Was it, I should like to ask in passing, in an older British tradition that James (followed by all his *cognoscenti*) chose to baptize the French colony which was to become the Republic of Haiti with the operatic and italianate name of San Domingo rather than with its official name of Saint Domingue? It certainly helps to prolong the wrong notion that today the Haitian Republic is more than the Western third part of the island of

Hispaniola. But then, for quite a few of our authors, there is also the strong belief that “the Caribbean” is really not much more than the former British West Indies; Cudjoe and Cain allude, for example, to “[James’s] importance to the Marxist Left in Trinidad and Tobago (and by extension, the Caribbean)” (p. 15).

Beyond a Boundary, James’s classic biography-cum-treatise on cricket as art, societal metaphor, and civilizing agency, is perhaps his best claim to fame, durable for as long as there is an audience interested in the well-told story of the colonial upbringing of a gifted boy, as long as there is a public (in the former British Empire minus Canada) which appreciates the complexities of a game that is “aristocratic with so many revolutionary possibilities, [a] colonial symbol that undermines empire” and yet a good game in its own right, and (as Mark Kingwell argues in his splendid “Keeping a Straight Bat: Cricket, Civility, and Postcolonialism”) as long as this Victorian game does not “capitulate to the perverse imperatives of the marketplace” (Kingwell in Cudjoe & Cain pp. 382-83).

It is probably true that, as his publisher wrote, “excess was James’s crime, an excess of words whose relevance to the contemporary tragedy was less than he supposed” (Warburg p. 215), but much of what remains when the excess is disposed of is inspiring and needs preserving.

He was a man of many intriguing (quasi-)contradictions: his scholastic rigidity versus his playful speculation, his love for the Western classics versus the search for a proper “black” identity, his belief in the economy as a prime mover versus the notion of culture (and sports as part of it) as the great moulder of thought and behavior. He wanted to be a theoretician steeped in Marx, Hegel and, yes, Heidegger, but also the forceful, practical, and reliable man of revolutionary action. Finally, there was his ingrained anti-Britishness, at odds with his complete osmosis of Britishness. It must have made him into a fascinating personality, able to captivate a great variety of audiences, easily participating in debates of Trotskyist thinkers, of strategists of black movements, and of latter-day theorists of cultural studies, and always aware of counter-arguments which he often and inwardly may have been close to adopting himself. All this makes it somewhat easier to understand, perhaps, why his remarkable life and his best (plus some of his bad) writing are now being canonized so enthusiastically, even in the country without socialism.

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EAST INDIANS IN THE CARIBBEAN

Transients to Settlers: The Experience of Indians in Jamaica 1845-1950. VERENE SHEPHERD. Leeds, U.K.: Peepal Tree Books, 1993. 281 pp. (Paper £12.95)

Survivors of Another Crossing: A History of East Indians in Trinidad, 1880-1946. MARIANNE D. SOARES RAMESAR. St. Augustine, Trinidad and Tobago: U.W.I. School of Continuing Education, 1994. xiii + 190 pp. (Paper n.p.)

Les Indes Antillaises: Présence et situation des communautés indiennes en milieu caribéen. ROGER TOUMSON (ed.). Paris: L'Harmattan, 1994. 264 pp. (Paper 140.00 FF)

Nation and Migration: The Politics of Space in the South Asian Diaspora. PETER VAN DER VEER (ed.). Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1995. vi + 256 pp. (Cloth US\$ 39.95, Paper US\$ 17.95)

In the decade since 1988, Caribbean nations with Indian communities have commemorated the 150th anniversary of the arrival of East Indians to the West Indies. These celebrations are part of local revitalization movements of Indian culture and identity stretching from the French *département* of Guadeloupe in the Windward Islands to Trinidad and Guyana in the south. Political changes have mirrored the cultural revival in the region. While the debate so often in the past centered on the legitimacy of East Indian claims to local nationality in these societies where African or Creole cultures dominate, in the 1990s leaders of Indian descent were elected heads of government in the two Caribbean nations with the most populous East Indian communities: Cheddi Jagan as President of Guyana in October 1992 (after a 28-year hiatus) and Basdeo Panday as Prime Minister of Trinidad in November 1995. Both men have long been associated with their respective countries' struggles for economic, political, and social equality. Outside the region

during the summer of 1997, fiftieth-anniversary celebrations marking the independence of India and Pakistan from Britain confirmed that Indo chic – or “Indofrenzy” as anthropologist Arjun Appadurai calls it (Sengupta 1997:13) – has captured the American imagination with the new popularity of literature, art, and film emanating from India and its diaspora.

The books under review here attest to the combined academic interest in and local thirst for cultural expression among overseas Indians in the Caribbean; however, they also point to the unevenness of research in this growing field. The two case studies, both originally M. Phil. theses, provide an interesting comparison: one on Jamaica with its East Indian minority and the other on Trinidad where Indians and Creoles, though numerically quite equal today, have historically been differentially integrated into the economic, political, social, and cultural fabric of the nation. The two collected works may be similarly viewed as complementing each other. One is compiled from a conference and festival celebrating *indianité* (“Indianness”), held December 1990 in Guadeloupe, while the other is a product of the 47th Annual South Asia Seminar, held at the University of Pennsylvania during 1991-92 and concerned with South Asian migration, nationalism, and the construction of religious and ethnic identity within a largely Anglophone global context.

In this review we will begin with the particular and move to the general. The case study of Jamaica provides a natural point of departure. Whereas in Trinidad indenture was central to sugar production and the plantation economy, in Jamaica it was a peripheral adjunct to a technically free labor system (Look Lai 1993:xi-xii). In the introduction to *Transients to Settlers*, Verene Shepherd writes that “the present unbalanced state of the historiography of Indians in the Caribbean is a major obstacle to the development of a comparative approach to the study of the Indo-Caribbean settlers” (p. 14). She points out that all too frequently attention has been focused on immigration and the indenture period, with the marginalization of Jamaica even though this island received the third largest number of Indians in the English-speaking Caribbean. Of the approximately 37,000 Indians who immigrated to the island between 1845 and 1916, only 38 per cent were repatriated.

Shepherd’s monograph focuses on the post-indenture experience of Indian immigrants in Jamaica “as they made the transition from contract labourers to permanent settlers attempting to adjust to the ‘host society’ while maintaining a degree of ethnic identity” (p. 15). Chapters on indenture, patterns of rural and urban settlement, economic activities, missionary activities, education, social customs and institutions, and political participation provide a comparative framework for examining variations within the larger Indo-Caribbean experience.

It is generally perceived that Indians in Jamaica were the most economically depressed in the region and were less successful in maintaining their cultural autonomy, and Shepherd offers some historical explanations for Indo-Jamaicans' differential socioeconomic and cultural experiences. Unlike Trinidad and Guyana where Indians were able to move off the estates and into communities organized around Indian cultural practices, Shepherd points out, Indians in Jamaica lacked the base of land ownership which was so essential for residential separation and greater nucleation of the population. While the two factors of population – size and density – have long been considered by anthropologists to be crucial for immigrant groups' cultural persistence and subsequent resistance to acculturative influences of the host society, Shepherd examines other possible causal factors as explanatory variables for the loss of Indian cultural traditions in Jamaica. She argues that the role of missionaries, the school system, the small size of the Indian community (which affected the extent to which it was accorded special consideration by the government), the internal organization of the community, and its weak economic base marked by few opportunities to establish economic niches, all contributed to cultural assimilation and absorption of Indians within the larger Jamaican population.

In examining the opposing pressures of resistance and adaptation, Shepherd focuses on the overt forms of cultural persistence rather than the covert level of village life and ethnic identity. While she uses historical and archival data resourcefully throughout the work, the themes of retention and persistence raised in the chapter on social customs and institutions would better be taken up by a cultural anthropologist who is trained to look beyond the obvious to hidden forms of cultural continuity. Shepherd never attempts to define ethnic identity over time and space in Jamaica or to offer folk designations, but curiously always refers to the minority ethnic community as "Indians" notwithstanding their propensity for mixed-race unions. While she mentions that the disproportionate number of Indian men to women played a role in their marrying outside their group, she fails to explain fully why "such relationships, legalised or not, played an important role in the process of assimilation, particularly as the progeny of such unions, called Indian coloureds, tended to demonstrate a greater preference for things 'Jamaican' than for things 'Indian'" (p. 209). Here she seems to miss an opportunity to delve more deeply into the role of gender in socialization and cultural transmission. In contacts between Indians and the Afro-Jamaican majority she contends that "cultural transfer tended to take place in one direction" (p. 205), but she fails to consider evidence to the contrary, such as the introduction of Indian culinary practices, food items, religious practices, or linguistic contributions to Jamaican popular culture. In debat-

ing the problem of incorporation versus cultural retention, she might have benefited from more comparisons of Jamaica with the French islands of Martinique and Guadeloupe, where small Indian minority populations have similarly been unable to resist the pressures of group exogamy and cultural assimilation to the creole norm.

Unlike the Jamaica study, *Survivors of Another Crossing* does not fill a void in Indian historiography since East Indians in Trinidad have received considerable scholarly treatment over the last two-to-three decades. Marianne Soares Ramesar divides her book into six main chapters which follow the chronology of East Indian arrival, indentured labor, settlement as free laborers, and integration in colonial Trinidad. Curiously, the period under study, from 1880 to 1946, neither conforms to the whole indenture period in Trinidad (1845-1917) nor continues to the end of the colonial era with the advent of independence in 1962; hence the choice of dates appears quite arbitrary.

The first two chapters, "The Migrants Leave India" and "The Indians Under Indenture," actually deal quite extensively with historical materials prior to 1880. While this is understandable given that indentureship was introduced to the island in 1845, it is inconsistent with the book's time framework. Both Chapter 3, "The Role of Indentured Immigration in Trinidad," and Chapter 5, "Opposition to Indian Migration," are comparatively short pieces which superficially treat the two central and interrelated questions regarding Indian indentured labor in Trinidad – first, the debate on the impact of immigration on conditions for Afro-Creole labor (e.g., savior or death knell), and secondly, the anti-immigration debate in the colony, England, and India, which eventually led to the end of the policy in 1917.

Chapter 4, "Activities of the Time-Expired Indians," covers a range of issues, including economic activities, the formation of villages and Indian settlements, social life, religious activity, education, and the emergence of Indian pressure groups. This section, however, is limited to a discussion of conditions for *free* ("time-expired") Indians during the indenture period. Here the text might have benefited from integrating these issues with the subsequent period, 1917-46, which forms the basis for Chapter 6, "The Integration of Indian Settlers in Trinidad after Indenture and until the Second World War." Whereas Shepherd's work on East Indians in Jamaica is organized around overarching themes, Ramesar follows a strict focus on chronology and historical periods. By choosing to tell the East Indian story in Trinidad in this way, Ramesar fails to view history as dynamic or to analyze the tensions and contradictions of an ever increasing group of free Indians which, by 1891, outnumbered indentured Indians by nearly 6:1 (p. 77). The largest immigrant group in Trinidad, East Indians were still a much maligned minority in a multilayered and multiethnic colonial society, fur-

ther bifurcated by the social and racial distinctions maintained between "Indians" and "non-Indians." However, the study does not adequately address Indian/Afro-Creole relations.

Another weakness in the book is the lack of systematized classificatory terms for the ethnic and racial groups in Trinidad. Although Ramesar states that the term "Indians" will be used in her work to refer to "the East Indian immigrants and their descendants ..., except where it is necessary to distinguish the India-born" (p. iii), the term "East Indians" also appears in the text, tables, and title. Indian immigrants who completed their indenture are variously called "time-expired Indians," "free Indians," or "ex-indentured Indians." Ramesar also explains that the term "Creole" will be used to describe "natives of Trinidad, prefaced by the adjective African, European, or French to determine ancestry" (p. iii). However, the phrase "white Creoles" appears on occasion, and Ramesar uses the unmarked term "Creoles" and on occasion "African-Americans" to refer in general to Trinidadians of African descent. Indians of mixed parentage are labeled "East Indian Creoles" (p. 131) or "Indian Creoles" (p. 146), with no discussion of their ambiguous role or status in the society. Immigrants to Trinidad from other West Indian islands, such as Barbados, St. Vincent, Carriacou, and Grenada, are referred to as "British West Indians" even though in normal parlance this term can and does include Trinidadians. The proliferation of terms, lack of consistency in their choice, and disregard for the change in their usage over time, space, or context all conspire to confuse the reader.

It should be mentioned, however, that the work benefits from a wealth of tables, charts, and photographs from the nineteenth century to the present which add significantly to the text. Tables dealing with East Indians' occupations, extent of their savings, and land acquisition are especially informative. Unfortunately, these tables appear in fine print and are frequently turned on their sides or spread over two or more pages (e.g., Tables 4:7, 4:8, and 6:3), decreasing their legibility.

Both case studies end before the advent of the islands' independence and the modern era of independence, Indian nationalism, and cultural revitalization in the Caribbean, so the two collected works are well situated to pick up where the monographs leave off. *Les Indes Antillaises*, coordinated by Roger Toumson, consists of the conference proceedings of the Festival International de l'Indianité, which took place in December 1990 in St. François, Guadeloupe at the initiative of the town's mayor, Ernest Moutoussamy. While there have been earlier conferences dedicated to the East Indian presence in the West Indies, this was the first to take place in the French West Indies; it therefore marks an important beginning for the *départements français d'Amérique* as they seek to become full partners and

participants on the greater Caribbean geopolitical and cultural stage. The significance of Guadeloupe as the venue for the conference should not be overlooked. This French island boasts the fourth largest East Indian community in the Caribbean today, with an estimated 54,000 people of Indian origin; in addition, Moutoussamy, a native of Guadeloupe, is the first East Indian deputy elected from the French West Indies to serve in the French National Assembly.

This two-day international conference brought together scholars, writers, journalists, performers, artists, and politicians from India and its diaspora in the Francophone and Anglophone Caribbean, the Indian Ocean, Canada, the United States, France, and England. The purpose of the combined conference and festival was to validate Indian contributions to Caribbean societies and at the same time to "rehabilitate a dimension of the Indian personality, nourish the collective memory, facilitate the appropriation of Indian values, and better authenticate Antillean identity" (translation of Moutoussamy's opening address, pp. 8-9). Of the twenty-three articles in the collection, two-thirds are contributions by academics in the fields of history, anthropology, geography, social psychology, literature, and linguistics, with the French Antilles the main focus. Topics include a general overview to Indians in the French Caribbean (Singaravélou); conditions and mortality rates aboard the ships in the passage from India to the Caribbean (J. Weber); immigration of Indian women to the French West Indies (F. Lacpatia); Indian deities, religious rituals, and myths (G.F. Ponaman, G. L'Étang); the influence of Tamil in Guadeloupean Creole (D. Colat-Jolivière); Indian communities in Trinidad, Guyana, Guadeloupe, and Martinique (L. Davidas, Cheddi Jagan, H. Bangou, G. César, J. Smeralda-Amon); cultural ideology and the concept of *indianité* (J. Lirus-Galap, R. Burton, M. Prat); and representations of Indians in Caribbean literature (H. Pyne-Timothy, M. Hippon, C. Dabydeen, V. Pollard, R. Toumson).

As with any volume that attempts to integrate scholarly and lay articles, the pieces vary in quality, substance, and length. A number of articles contribute to gaps in East Indian historiography in the Caribbean, and as a whole the volume adds a new dimension to the current debate on *créolité* in the French islands. Several contributors view *indianité* as an integral part of Antillean identity – as a component of *antillanité* that is now interpreted as being synonymous with *métissage* or hybridity (Lirus-Galap, p. 22) – and they claim that *indianité* and *créolité* are not in conflict but instead mutually reinforce each other (Ponamam, p. 71). These statements, while adding support to the definition of *créolité* adopted by Bernabé, Chamoiseau, and Confiant (see Bernabé, Chamoiseau & Confiant 1989), may heat up the counterattack by critics who view *créolité* at best a concept

that gives only lip service to non-African or non-European elements in the cultural mosaic of the French West Indies and at worst an ideology that is exclusionary, Afrocentric, and gender-biased (see Condé & Cottenet-Hage 1995).

Nation and Migration is the outcome of a year-long academic seminar dedicated to issues of nationalism and territoriality within South Asian international migration, held at the University of Pennsylvania in 1991-92. In his introduction to the volume, "The Diasporic Imagination," editor Peter van der Veer stresses that to understand the modern articulation of nation and migration, one has to look first at colonialism, since colonialism has transformed older notions of community and movement (p. 4). "Overseas South Asian communities have different historical trajectories because they have developed in widely divergent historical contexts in many parts of the world. It is the fragmented nature of these contexts and experiences that complicates the use of 'the South Asian diaspora' as a transparent category" (p. 1).

This collected work comprises much more rigorous scholarship than Toumson's edited volume. As a unit the articles point to the complexity and diversity of the South Asian diaspora and offer important insights for the understanding of international migration processes. For the purposes of this review we will be concerned only with the cluster of three essays which treat the specificities of the diaspora of (ex-)indentured peoples in Trinidad and, to a lesser extent, Guyana: "Projecting Identities: Empire and Indentured Labor Migration from India to Trinidad and British Guiana, 1836-1885" (Madhavi Kale); "Homeland, Motherland: Authenticity, Legitimacy, and Ideologies of Place among Muslims in Trinidad" (Aisha Khan); and "Hindus in Trinidad and Britain: Ethnic Religion, Reification, and the Politics of Public Space" (Steven Vertovec).

Kale looks at the debates that accompanied the introduction of Indian laborers to the Caribbean in the nineteenth century. She argues that the various positions in this debate over the conditions of indenture tended to result in static and reified notions of Indian culture which, in turn, influenced both representations of Indians in the Caribbean and policies for governing them. These notions constrained the attempts of Indian workers to define themselves, but they were forcefully challenged in public festivals, such as the Indo-Muslim festival of Muharram, known as Hosay in Trinidad.

Vertovec is concerned with the articulation of religious discourse and compares the situation of the ex-indentured Indian population in Trinidad with that of more recent Indian immigrants in Britain. In Trinidad he sees the rise of a political Hinduism (an ethnicized religion) which was conditioned by bipolar ethnic competition, but he argues that since the 1950s

there has been a depoliticalization of Hinduism in the island. In Britain, no unified ethnic Hindu identity appears for the very reason that there is no bipolar competition between two colonized peoples of almost the same size, as in Trinidad. According to Vertovec, the main issue for Hindus in Britain is the construction of their own multiple identities when faced with unifying projects, such as assimilation and multiculturalism, of the British nation-state.

Khan looks at the relationship between religious idioms and the processes of identity construction within the Muslim community in Trinidad, a minority Islamic group composed of Trinidadians of Indian and of African descent. The universalism of religious ideas does not extend to religious space or group interaction within this "frontier" (Bowen 1989) diaspora population, for Islamic practices do not transcend the bipolar ethnic boundaries between Afro-Trinidadians and Indo-Trinidadians. As with Hindus in Trinidad, Khan finds that the bipolar competition with Afro-Trinidadians defines the Muslim discourse on identity in which religious interpretation and expression serve as important contested domains of questions about culture and tradition, authenticity of identity, and legitimacy of social place (p. 101).

All four works under review contribute to the emerging field of Indian diaspora studies in the Caribbean. With time we hope that other gaps in research will be addressed – different Muslim minority communities in the Caribbean; smaller East Indian communities in the Lesser Antilles, as in Grenada, St. Lucia, and even Barbados; and the role of East Indian women in Caribbean societies and economies. This research will then allow for the cross-cultural, inter-island comparisons for which Verene Shepherd so passionately argues in her work.

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TRINIDADIAN CAPITALISM

Capitalism: An Ethnographic Approach. DANIEL MILLER. Oxford: Berg, 1997. x + 357 pp. (Cloth £39.00, Paper £17.99)

Women, Labour and Politics in Trinidad and Tobago: A History. RHODA E. REDDOCK. London: Zed, 1994. vi + 346 pp. (Cloth £39.95, Paper £15.95)

Despite the underdeveloped state of the scholarship on its admittedly short sugar plantation slavery period, we now have a corpus of studies on various aspects of capitalism in Trinidad – from its historical advent (Sebastien 1978) to its twentieth-century manifestation in the petroleum sector (Seers 1964; Sandoval 1983), and from the ethnic structure of labor markets (Camejo 1971; Harewood 1971) and the role of capitalism in racial/ethnic inequality (Henry 1993; Coppin & Olsen 1998) to the way ethnicity affects business, big (Button 1981; Parris 1985; Centre for Ethnic Studies 1993) and small (Ryan & Barclay 1992; Griffith 1997), and the way ethnicity and gender are used in class recruitment (Yelvington 1995). There are also a number of fine working-class histories (e.g., Rennie 1973; Ramdin 1982; Basdeo 1983) and important works on the labor riots and strikes and the nature of the colonial state during the crises of the 1930s (e.g., Thomas 1987; Singh 1994). The two books under review here complement the works mentioned above, and they complement each other as well: Reddock's deals with the way capitalism up to the mid-century was buttressed by colonial politics, and explores how this formation engendered certain kinds of political responses, while Miller approaches capitalism through the assumption that fundamental changes in the post-Oil Boom period (ca.1973-80) brought about considerable autonomy between production and consumption that can and should now be read through an analysis of the cultural circulation of images and commodities in the soci-

ety. These books are both noteworthy because they engage in explicit theorizing on what capitalism was and is, and what it did and does.

Reddock's book marshals an impressive amount of evidence to support her "housewifization" thesis, an explanation for the progressive expulsion of women from paid formal employment and their consequent definition as "non-workers" during the colonial period of the twentieth century, up to independence in 1962. This argument is twinned with her idea of the "naturalization" of women's work – that is, the (re)defining of certain occupations as "women's work" based on women's supposed natural abilities and proclivities, which allows their work to be constructed as the extension of their (often idealized) domestic roles. Under patriarchy, a devaluing of such work is the logical result. Housewifization is an ideology sustained by and sustaining of a sexual division of labor, incorporative of a domestic model of a working male breadwinner and his dependent wife and children. This ideology was congruent with the need, under colonialism, to justify certain changing labor arrangements attendant to industrialization, concomitant with a strategy of creating a female reserve army of labor, and the goal of projecting onto the subject society the colonial power's own image. Reddock notes the irony in attempts to assign this designation to a post-emancipation society where women had always worked under slavery and indenture.

Reddock shows how housewifization was elaborated and embedded in a number of societal institutions – the state, education, religion, business – and, through historical evidence, how these institutions articulated with each other. And she shows how working-class women resisted ruling-class initiatives by actively participating in a number of formal groups, such as trade unions, feminist and nationalist movements, and social work organizations. The argument is based on a close consideration of an array of primary and secondary sources, the former including memoirs, Colonial Office documents, official labor force reports, newspaper articles, and oral history interviews, although it is maddening when turning to the bibliography to follow these up to discover that "For reasons of space, the publishers were regrettably unable to reproduce the complete bibliography of this work" (p. 341). Women were active in the strikes of 1919, in the labor agitation of the 1930s, in the reform movements as capital and state consolidated its position after World War II, and in the incipient anti-colonial bodies culminating in the establishment of the People's National Movement under Eric Williams. Reddock's treatment of the various heretofore largely unknown women and major and minor organizations is comprehensive, the kind of "retrieval" history that is worthwhile.

Class formation is the central dynamic, but it is nuanced in Reddock's hands. She demonstrates how the decreasing numbers of women workers

not only indicate the exclusion of those who wanted work, but show that some women withdrew from the labor force because they found themselves in positions to attain the valorized European conjugal models. Rather than feeding us the "sisterhood is universal" pap, she shows how women of different classes and ethnic identities were often at odds in their political position-taking. And rather than giving us pro-union hagiography, Reddock demonstrates how women despite their role as leaders and as footsoldiers were confined by their male comrades to women's auxiliaries. Only the short-lived Negro Welfare Cultural and Social Association (ca. 1934-ca. 1946) genuinely included women in leadership roles; Reddock has already published a biography of its leader and chief ideologue, Elma François. Likewise, rather than presenting a gloss of a unified anti-colonial stance, Reddock exposes Trinidad's historical difficulties in putting together multi-ethnic class alliances. This book's value is the lesson that capitalism cannot be understood without what some would call a relatively autonomous ideological sphere, nor can it be understood without struggles to define its nature and outcome.

Miller, an accomplished theorist, has been widely cited over the last decade for his work on material culture and consumption (1987), and most recently has developed "a theory of shopping" (1998). His *Capitalism* book, the second in his oeuvre to focus on Trinidad, evinces his hallmark unrelenting dialectical approach. In *Capitalism*, there are overlapping dialectical movements. A principal one is the antimony between what Miller calls "organic capitalism" and "pure capitalism" – that is, historical, culturally-particular capitalism, as seen in his case studies of Trinidad, and abstract, ahistorical, and theoretical "capitalism," as prescribed by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) in its recipe of structural adjustment for the country. Another is the competition between "local 'global' companies" and "global 'local' companies" – that is, between transnational firms, some with a long history in Trinidad and enjoying considerable local-level autonomy, and those firms originating in Trinidad but expanding their production, distribution, and sales branches abroad. These and other theses and antitheses meet in syntheses in Trinidad and, indeed, *produce* and *transform* Trinidad. Miller is less interested in how capitalism becomes Trinidadian, in terms of a cultural style, than in how capitalism creates "Trinidad" through consumption patterns and the conduct of commerce through globalized linkages.

Miller's book is based on a comprehensive, multi-sited ethnography. He interviewed advertising agency executives and creative workers, shopkeepers, and the directors of large firms; he did surveys among consumers and mall-goers; he recorded television commercials and showed them to informants, gauging their reactions and interpretations individually and in

discussion groups; he was permitted to accompany distribution managers on their rounds, and to be present at high-level board meetings; and he hung around offices picking up gossip and observing business practice, among other fieldwork strategies. These are perhaps non-traditional methods, but certainly called for given the nature of the project, and in more traditional anthropological terms his ethnography is based in four communities, basically representative of Trinidad's ethnic and class diversity. His main ethnographic evidence is of the sweet drink (soft drink) industry, of the production and consumption of advertising, and on retail and shopping strategies and practices.

There exist disjunctures and ruptures everywhere. Nowhere is intentionalism an explanation of behavioral outcomes. Appearances do not readily disclose the nature of their underlying social relations. Miller argues that "the Trinidadian context can only be understood by a refusal to project ideological constraints derived from different historical legacies" (p. 273) and even "entirely explicit in Marx's own writing" was the idea that "theory should be changing at least as fast as history" (p. 332). Miller finds that the factory and the plantation have given way to the distributive and service sectors, and (perhaps contentiously) he forgoes a look at the relations of production, thereby casting aside the conventional categories of analysis. This allows him to explore how local "global" companies might *not* favor trade liberalization because they have built up a local following and want to protect themselves from competition, and how global "local" companies might indeed favor liberalization because their foreign exchange reserves might allow them to import the inputs necessary for local assembly or pursue strategies for the markup and retail of imported finished goods. In a hyper-competitive business climate, hyperreal images of, say, sweet drink advertising, resonate with and through culture. And the ways they do is not entirely predictable – thus the necessity of the ethnographic approach. As Miller shows, image-producers move in a cosmopolitan world apart from the consumers of these images, but taste and class are not necessarily coincident or as closely associated as they are in other societies. Sex sells in Trinidad, but not in ways the producers of the ads think: certain products represented by the ads obtain sexual connotations when none were intended, while others sold with a rather overt (according to their producers and Miller) sexual message derive other kinds of meanings and uses entirely. Ad creators try in multi-ethnic Trinidad to use "mixed" individuals as models, but this falls flat among East Indians, who see it as part of a creole plot at forced miscegenation, or "*douglarization*," while blacks see the same models as epitomizing a "high brown" political aesthetic that has traditionally oppressed them. Local products are derided, while Coca-Cola evokes nostalgia and a sense of Trinidadianess. And taken for granted activities

acquire new meaning. Shopping is not just a mindless activity or gender stereotype, but it has "become integrated as a sphere of possibility throughout the gamut of Trinidadian social relationships and cosmological imagination; it is used in exchange, in 'dressing' the self, in objectifying the sense of 'bright', in the competitive skills of housewifery, in mobilizing youth against their parents, in establishing taste as class, as well as in many other modes of interaction" (p. 301). For Miller, consumption is what allows historical and cultural "projects" to proceed, such as ethnicity, sexuality, kinship, and religious knowledge. Corporate-sponsored competitions are definitive of the national image. Trinidadians *qua* Trinidadians claim the right to purchase high quality goods and in so doing, "their being Trinidadian is increasingly linked to a sense of their being global, with similar rights and expectations to those of any metropolitan country" (p. 335). Miller is an unsentimental (but sympathetic) critic of consumer(istic) choices and their likely effects. More Caribbean ethnographies should be so attuned to the cultural contradictions of the local and globalizing forces in the present context, rather than defining the region through paradigmatic foci, such as religion, kinship, and popular culture taken as Carnival and crafts.

Reddock's and Miller's visions meet at several junctures. Although Reddock does not define the opposition as such, it is clear that both she and Miller incorporate the notion of organic capitalism, indicated by historical, local struggles over the direction of the state and economy, and the notion of pure capitalism, as housewifization no less than the models imposed by the IMF are violent abstractions with an ahistorical and inappropriate bearing on the Trinidad case. The two books represent a sequence. They must be read together to understand where Trinidadian capitalism has been and where it's going.

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SALLY PRICE

ARTISTS IN AND OUT OF THE CARIBBEAN

Caribbean Art. VEERLE POUPEYE. London: Thames and Hudson, 1998. 224 pp. (Paper US\$ 14.95)

Transforming the Crown: African, Asian and Caribbean Artists in Britain, 1966-1996. MORA J. BEAUCHAMP-BYRD & M. FRANKLIN SIRMANS (eds.). New York: Caribbean Cultural Center, 1998. 177 pp. (Paper US\$ 39.95, £31.95)

"Caribbean" (like "Black British") culture is (as a Dutch colleague once said of postmodernism) a bit of a slippery fish. One of the books under review here presents the eclectic artistic productions of professional artists with Caribbean identities of varying sorts – some of them lifelong residents of the region (defined broadly to stretch from Belize and the Bahamas to Curaçao and Cayenne), some born in the Caribbean but living elsewhere, and others from far-away parts of the world who have lingered or settled in the Caribbean. The other focuses on artists who trace their cultural heritage variously to Lebanon, France, Malaysia, Spain, China, England, Guyana, India, the Caribbean, the Netherlands, the Philippines, and the whole range of societies in West, East, and Central Africa, all of whom meet under a single ethnic label in galleries in New York and London. Clearly, the principles that vertebrate *Caribbean Art* and *Transforming the Crown* are built on the backs of ambiguities, misperceptions, ironies, and ethnocentric logics (not to mention their stronger variants, such as racism). Yet far from invalidating the enterprise, they offer an enlightening inroad to the social, cultural, economic, and political workings of artworlds that reflect globally orchestrated pasts of enormous complexity.

Veerle Poupeye starts right out, on her first page, by acknowledging the irrationality that colors her subject. She notes that curators of a "Caribbean art" exhibition would be unlikely to select for inclusion a minimalist metal and fluorescent light sculpture by Bismarck Victoria, who is from the

Dominican Republic – not because he (like most other artists from the region) has spent time away from his homeland, but rather because it would fail to fit “what they feel art from the Caribbean should be.” Other disunifying aspects of art from the Caribbean are also placed up front and set in the context of the region’s fragmentation, “balkanization,” and linguistic diversity. Yet balanced against these considerations, she goes on, are the commonalities of colonial and decolonizing experiences, animated debates about authenticity and “Westernization,” and struggles with the threats of cultural imperialism and racial stereotyping – reasons enough for an attempt to capture their main lines between two Thames and Hudson covers.

Poupeye, born in Belgium and based in Jamaica, offers a comprehensive, balanced, and consistently interesting tour through the creative expression of this dispersed array of artists, focusing throughout on traditional forms (painting, sculpture) and on individuals who are (as the book’s opening sentence puts it) “acknowledged in the West as [important figures] in modern art history.” The pace is snappy (we’re constantly aware that the author can’t afford to dwell indulgently on any one piece of the job if she is to cover her assigned task within the “World of Art” series page limit), and the tone is appropriately authoritative.

Poupeye’s introduction broaches two themes that thread through the whole volume – displacement (foreign-born artists coming into the region, locally-born ones traveling out) and “the complexity and dialectic nature of the relationship between Caribbean and metropolitan Western culture” (p. 10). She underscores the importance of geography (including the iconographic use of maps) and language for an understanding of the history of Caribbean art and then moves into opening observations about creolization, racism, questions of cultural identity, and the relationship between art and tourism.

Chapter 1, “Prehispanic and Colonial Art,” covers just that, illustrating its historical narrative with Taino *zemis*, the portrait of a colonial governor, the depiction of a Black Carib chief, and a European-style landscape painting, before introducing early themes in Haitian, Puerto Rican, and Cuban art, mentioning the region’s influence on foreign artists such as Paul Gauguin and Winslow Homer, and ending with a look at the art of Francisco Oller (b. 1833), who “spent most of his life travelling restlessly between Puerto Rico and Europe” (p. 46).

The ground covered in Chapter 2, “Modernism and Cultural Nationalism,” ranges from the influences of *négritude*, the Harlem Renaissance, and Mexican muralism to Brazilian and Spanish modernism, the Cuban *vanguardia*, and the arrival of Haitian art on the international scene, as well as contemporary developments in Jamaica, Trinidad, and

elsewhere. In this chapter, art history is recognized as an aspect of History, and elegantly woven into discussion of wars, occupations, independence movements, and literary and political figures – Aimé Césaire, Alejo Carpentier, Lydia Cabrera, Jean Price-Mars, Rafael Trujillo, Frantz Fanon, C.L.R. James, and Norman Manley (who enters the story as sculptor Edna Manley's husband).

The third chapter focuses on arts related to popular religions, festivals, and visionary inspiration. Poupeye picks up the story of Haitian art again, sorting out the styles and materials of individual contributors, refuting certain misperceptions (e.g., that all "primitive" Haitian art is tied in to *vaudou*), and chronicling key developments such as the 1968 founding of the Poto-Mitan school and the 1970s experiments of the Saint-Soleil group. She then moves on to Jamaican Revivalism, Cuban Santería (whose "traditionalism" is credited to local colonial policies, though one might also cite the continuing importation of Africans well into the mid-nineteenth century), Trinidad Carnival, Protestant festivals such as the Jonkonnu masquerade, and diasporic offshoots of festival traditions in Brooklyn, Toronto, and London. As in the previous chapter (and indeed, the whole book), political figures and events are an integral part of the picture, and art historical description alternates with commentary on "Papa Doc" Duvalier's enlistment of *vaudou* imagery, Edward Seaga's active patronage of the arts, the use of images of José Martí for political statement, and the eruption of race riots during the 1976 Notting Hill Carnival in London.

Chapter 4, "Revolution, Anti-Imperialism and Race Consciousness," continues to recognize the embeddedness of the region's art history in political developments – the Cuban Revolution, the short-lived West Indies Federation, independence movements, the creation of in-between statuses for Puerto Rico and the French Antilles, and the efforts of nationalist leaders and intellectuals to combat imperialist threats to their political and cultural sovereignty. Poupeye lays out the logic, in this context, of a turn toward abstractionism and the graphic arts; Cuba and Puerto Rico are in the forefront here, with discussion of the Cuban group *Las Once* and the related journal *Noticias de Arte*, various connections between the University of Puerto Rico and that island's art world, and parallel discussions of developments in Haiti, Jamaica, and elsewhere. She then follows Caribbean artists to various settings in Europe and North America, reflecting on the influence of their "minority" status, following their activist involvements, and watching the growth of cultural and racial awareness and its effect on artistic expression. To tell the story of this chapter, Poupeye punctuates her prose with isms both political and art historical – nationalism, racism, activism, regionalism, exoticism, modernism, abstractionism, materialism, minimalism, social realism, concretism, constructivism, and the like.

Chapter 5, "Nature in Caribbean Art," begins, like the book as a whole, with Wifredo Lam, quickly moving on to other by-now-familiar figures (Aimé Césaire's evocations of volcanoes, storms in the work of Winslow Homer and Rafael Tufiño, etc.), and introducing some new ones. All of this is orchestrated thematically – personal identification with nature, the degradation of the environment, escapist representations, and abstract representations of different sorts. Cuban exile Ana Mendieta, mentioned frequently in the book, is given special attention here; Poupeye's quiet éloge to this innovative feminist artist, who died in a tragic fall at the age of 37, echoes the dedication page of Lucy Lippard's 1990 book on multicultural art in the United States: "For TropicAna."

Chapter 6 explores subjectivity, identity, and existential concerns in the work of Caribbean artists. This essay, like the others, island-hops on every page, pulling the diversity of themes, visions, techniques, and media into a coherent narrative. The interpretation of African and Amerindian heritages is explored, and the story of art in each society of the region is picked up again, with new names, descriptions, and critical commentary.

The final chapter reflects on art produced by a "new generation of Caribbean artists [who has] come of age in an era characterized by disillusionment with the social and political ideals of the previous generation" (pp. 183-84). Returning periodically to names that have come up earlier in the book, Poupeye probes connections between New Cuban Art and political developments of the 1980s and 1990s, looks at the influence of sociopolitical consciousness elsewhere in the region, touches on Rastafarian imagery, graffiti, and street murals, devotes several paragraphs to "constructed photography," and returns to a number of earlier themes – the expression of identity in art, the use of flags as political statement, the place of race, and emigrant experience.

Poupeye's decision to close the book with Marc Latamie, a Martiniquan artist based in New York who uses sugar and neon-lighting to produce artistic allusions to the slave trade, the plantation experience, and the region's economic dependence, is in keeping with the eclectic treatment that she has given, throughout, to the eclectic arts of the Caribbean.

The format of Thames and Hudson's extensive "World of Art" series has been honed with care: something over 200 pages, printed (in Singapore) on glossy paper that allows vivid color plates and close text/image matches, clear cross-referencing of illustrations, authoritative coverage of a well-defined domain, supplemental bibliography for each chapter (and in Poupeye's book a glossary of specialized terms), notes, information on illustrations (artist, title, year, medium, dimensions in centimeters and inches, museum or collector, photographic credit) and index. Plus a trim size (6"x8 1/4") and price that invite course adoption in an academic discipline

handicapped by books both exorbitant and unwieldy. Readers with less than perfect vision may find a magnifying glass handy for the back matter, where the print has been miniaturized in order to make the whole undertaking possible.

Transforming the Crown has not benefited from such a rational format. This catalogue for an exhibition co-sponsored by the Franklin H. Williams Caribbean Cultural Center and the African Diaspora Institute, which appeared in three New York museums (the Studio Museum in Harlem, the Bronx Museum of the Arts, and the Caribbean Cultural Center), has all the earmarks of a publication rushed into print by an over-busy set of curators with fast-approaching deadlines. The considerable value derived from having many contributors (eight essayists and a long list of editors, curators, consultants, project advisors, and interns) is paid for by the absence of a coordinating voice; the essays are uneven in length, format, and interest, and illustrations are handled in a noticeably inconsistent fashion. The figures in two of the chapters are numbered (each as a separate series, resulting in duplicated figure numbers) and in others not. Some of the close descriptions are backed up by images of the works in question, but others are not, and still others are illustrated redundantly, with the same figure appearing in both the text and a later section called "Exhibition Color Plates." Some of the exhibition pieces are discussed as wholes, but illustrated only via details. And for the majority of works discussed in the essays there is no indication of whether they are illustrated anywhere in the book, so that readers will sometimes be rewarded by turning pages and locating particular works in the Color Plates section (alphabetically arranged by artists' names), but often they will come up dry and have to try to imagine what the art looks like. Within the Color Plates section, a standardized format (one artist/one work of art/one illustration) operates to the disadvantage of the several artists who produce installation or video art, in that each is represented by a single static still, when a more flexible design could have better evoked the spirit and form of their work; the innovative design of books by Trinh Minh-Ha and Jean-Paul Bourdier shows how imaginatively this challenge can be met.

The alphabetized, standardized sections of artworks and artists' biographical data (accompanied by photo-portraits that are conscientiously individualized in pose, framing, cropping, and background props, as if they were seniors in a high school yearbook) mask an uneven coverage in the rest of the book. Once I had read the longest, and meatiest, essay (by Mora Beauchamp-Byrd, the exhibition curator), I felt familiar with many of the artists whose work was represented, but I had no way of checking out those whose names I didn't recognize. I cannot, for example, remember any men-

tion at all of Said Adrus, whose mixed media installation appears in the exhibit; an index would have told me whether this oversight was the essayist's or my own.

The first substantive chapter is by Beauchamp-Byrd, who begins with reflections on a painting by the London-based Pre-Raphaelite, Dante Gabriel Rossetti, in which an androgynous black child was explicitly intended to offer "jewel-like" decoration for the "passively sensual" white figures at the center. This close artistic reading serves as a springboard for discussion of the image of blacks in British art and the scientific racism that promoted and framed it, and leads into an overview of the role of Africa, India, and the Caribbean in British immigration history, as well as representations of these new presences in art and literature. Moving quickly on to post-World War II realities, Beauchamp-Byrd chronicles the arrival in Britain of artists such as Ronald Moody (from Jamaica via Paris), Uzo Egonu (from Nigeria), Aubrey Williams (from Guyana), David Medalla (from the Philippines), and others. Her reflections on immigrant artists' responses to the complexities and ambiguities of cultural identity and national allegiance introduce us to the photographic art of Ingrid Pollard and the mixed-media compositions of Sonia Boyce, explore reactions (including political movements) to being labeled "Black British," and consider themes of dislocation, dispersal, boundaries, and political unrest in the work of such artists as Veronica Ryan, Nina Edge, Allan deSouza, Marcia Bennett, and others. The capacity of "Black British" artists to put an ironic spin on notions of "Englishness" through the conventional idiom of portraiture is illustrated with oil paintings and photographs by Eugene Palmer, Ajamu, and Rotimi Fani-Kayode, which also allow discussion of imagery focused on gender and sexuality. In like fashion, History (colonial and imperial, represented and evoked, solemn and witty) is illustrated via the screen prints of Gavin Jantjes, acrylic paintings by Lubaina Himid, gold-plated masks by George Kelly, and computer-generated animations by Keith Piper. The essay then returns to the theme of (self-)portraiture, passes on to a loose amalgam of social and ecological issues (child abuse, race riots, crime, toxic waste ...), and considers imagery involving religion and spirituality, memory, and visions of the future, all with reference to art works either in the exhibit or not. As it moves into its final pages, the organization of the essay becomes increasingly difficult to discern, and while readers will have been exposed to a great many wonderful artists, they may legitimately entertain doubts about the logic that has made its various parts show up in the order that they have.

Anne Walmsley's chapter is a concise synopsis of her longer history of the Caribbean Artists Movement (1992), which lasted from 1966 to 1972. Direct, authoritative, and consistently interesting, this essay successfully

portrays CAM members as real individuals, conveys the surge of intellectual commitment that characterized their short-lived experiment, and captures a sense of continuing solidarity and mutual stimulation of the participants even after the group officially disbanded. A brief essay by Kobena Mercer follows, with art-leaning reflections on the black body, the post-colonial body, the eroticized body, the emancipated body, the politicized body. "Looking at the various ways in which the erotic has been embraced – and avoided – across three decades of black British art," he writes, "we find not a linear progression that uncovers timeless truths but the twists and turns of diasporic rhizomes that unearth unexpected seams of insight into the buried layers of historical sediment from which the postcolonial body has emerged" (p. 54). The next chapter, by Gilane Tawadros, Director of the Institute of International Visual Arts in London, devotes special attention to blacks born in Britain in the 1970s and 1980s, thus taking on the baton passed to her by Anne Walmsley, whose essay dealt with artists arriving in Britain as young adults in the 1960s. Assessing dilemmas inherent in the potentially double identity of "artist" and "black artist," Tawadros enlists the help of C.L.R. James, who once commented that "life presents you with strange difficulties and, at times, you have to run with the hare and hunt with the hounds" (p. 58).

Deborah Willis, a curator of African American history and culture based at the Smithsonian, offers an essay on black women as both subjects and image-makers in photoart. Her presentation of five black women based in Britain (Sutapa Biswas, Sonia Boyce, Joy Gregory, Roshini Kempadoo, and Ingrid Pollard – all represented in the exhibition) places their art in the context of parallel work by black women across the Atlantic, such as Lorna Simpson and Carrie Mae Weems. Especially striking in these materials is the integration of written texts, much along the lines of the narratives that U.S. African American artist Faith Ringgold uses in her acrylic-and-patch-work compositions.

Judith Wilson, an assistant professor at Yale, then raises questions about the possibility of revising, breaking, circumventing, or otherwise challenging the traditional art historical canon, and contrasts the richness of art produced by diaspora artists with the virtual erasure of their contributions in standard "comprehensive" histories of world art. Her well-grounded point could have been bolstered by stronger references than she offers; the standard introductory texts used for college courses either ignore or pass lightly over such prolific artists as Wifredo Lam and Romare Bearden, and even the Macmillan/Grove's dictionary of art (Turner 1996), whose 34 volumes take up several meters of library shelving at a cost of US\$ 8,800, doesn't do much better.

A three-page chapter by artist Eddie Chambers (whose Rastafarian Union Jack provided a colorful *coup d'envoi* to Poupeye's book) discusses "the emergence of the black British artist" with special attention to gallery exhibitions of the 1980s, relating the struggle of black artists for recognition to the broader social challenges of people negatively stereotyped in terms of intellectual, moral, and social values. And the catalogue's final essay, by curator/publisher Okwui Enwezor, invokes a fashionable set of writers (Homi Bhabha, Gayatri Spivak, Roland Barthes, Michel Foucault, and more), but declines to address Anthony Kwame Appiah's reflections on Africanity and the diasporic experience – an unfortunately missed opportunity, to my mind.

If this review article reads like an endless string of names, there's a reason. Both of the books under consideration ultimately play a role very much like that of the University of Chicago Press's *Black British Cultural Studies: A Reader*, Lucy R. Lippard's *Mixed Blessings: New Art in a Multicultural America*, Richard J. Powell's *Black Art and Culture in the Twentieth Century* (another in the Thames and Hudson series), and Samella Lewis et al., *Caribbean Visions: Contemporary Painting and Sculpture* – all published within the past ten years. Their function is in a sense to expand the cast of known characters in the contemporary artworld, to offer a kind of *Who's Who* of artists previously excluded from mainstream recognition. The great majority of introductory college courses claiming to cover "the" history of art still follow the Eurocentric narrative laid out in textbooks by Helen Gardner, E.H. Gombrich, and H.W. Janson, relegating the artists and commentators mentioned in this essay to courses offered by cultural studies programs. But as I read the current climate, change (excruciatingly slow, but change nonetheless) may well be in the air. More and more anthropologists are engaging art historical literature and vice versa, and a mounting chorus of voices from previously underrepresented groups is making itself heard.

Even as the artists featured in these books gradually become part of everyday art historical discourse, however, there remains the related challenge of correcting a severe imbalance in art criticism. As bell hooks argued in her 1995 collection of essays, coverage of the U.S. art world has begun to recognize African-American artists, but has largely failed to engage the ideas and perspectives of African-American scholars who write about the visual arts.

Each of the books under review here makes a strong positive contribution in that direction, as do a rising number of more locally distributed publications (for Martinique and Puerto Rico, for example, see *La Voie du Fwomajé* [Association Fwomajé, 1994] and *Puerto Rico: Arte e Identidad* [Editorial de la Universidad de Puerto Rico, 1998], as well as the new quar-

terly journal *Arthème*, published in Martinique [B.P. 3018, Fort-de-France 97257 Cedex], with contributions [in French and some English] from the entire region) which provide less cramped spaces for the presentation of the art, aesthetic reflections, and life experiences of artists in particular parts of the Caribbean.

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BOOK REVIEWS

Disparate Diasporas: Identity and Politics in an African-Nicaraguan Community. EDMUND T. GORDON. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1998. xiv + 330 pp. (Cloth US\$ 35.00, Paper US\$ 15.95)

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This is an important book – for ethnohistorians, for researchers interested in Nicaragua and the Atlantic coast, and for scholars of the African diaspora. While a substantial amount of the social science literature pertaining to the Atlantic coast following the Sandinista Revolution was expressed in Marxist ideology, this work provides a moderate postmodern understanding of one of the Mosquito Coast's peoples, the Creoles.

Gordon's book presents the most detailed history of the Creoles currently available. The Creoles represent a black population, derived from African slaves and later West Indian migrants, which has received far less attention from Mosquito Coast researchers than have the indigenous peoples. Gordon also attempts to provide an interpretation of the actions of Creoles shortly before, during, and after the Sandinista Revolution. At the same time, he addresses the more general question of the validity of the African diaspora construct.

As a postmodern writer, Gordon carefully tries to define his own role in the study. The first chapter is especially interesting in terms of his preconceived notions about both the Sandinistas and the Creoles. As a young black man, Gordon had been caught up in the radical times of the 1970s. At Berkeley he joined the African Peoples Socialist Party, a group devoted to leading the oppressed in waging antiracist and socialist revolution. It also

turned out that the APSP was a group that had supported the FSLN (Sandinista National Liberation Front).

Gordon was eventually offered a job by the Nicaraguan Fishing Institute. He arrived in Nicaragua ready to carry on the work of the Sandinistas. On his arrival, he found the Sandinistas were suspicious of him because they thought he might be an American spy and because he was black. Eventually he made his way to the Atlantic coast, expecting acceptance because of the shared African heritage and unity between the Creoles and himself. Instead, he wasn't even thought of as black. To the Creoles he was a white gringo. Although he spent much of his adult life trying to disassociate himself from U.S. politics, he eventually learned that being a gringo was a positive classification on the Atlantic coast, whereas it had been a detriment in Managua. Yet for a long time, he was also suspect to the Creoles because he worked for the Sandinistas. Creole suspicions seem to have been overcome when he married a Creole woman. The rest of Gordon's book is an attempt to try to understand the Creole perspective.

The second chapter deals with the early history of Creole society on the Atlantic coast; its methodology is a traditional ethnohistorical approach. Because information on the early African slave population on the coast is sparse, Gordon's use of the documentary data is especially interesting. He provides a number of new insights with reinterpretations of the data based on a more positive view of the African slaves' contributions to Mosquito Coast history than those held by previous researchers.

The remaining chapters concern recent Creole history and are based on a postmodern perspective. Gordon explains why many Creoles believe that their true heritage is British, rather than African. He refers to this view as a diasporic Anglo identity. At times this identity has been used so that Creoles could cast themselves as modern and civilized compared to the other populations inhabiting the Atlantic coast. In collecting oral histories, he found that family genealogies emphasize the European origins of the Creole group, especially the English as their ancestral population. However, in other contexts discussed later in his research, Gordon found that Creoles also stressed genealogical ties with native coastal peoples in order to emphasize an indigenous diasporic identity. His analysis challenges Afrocentric notions that black people all over the world share a common identity by virtue of an African heritage.

Roughly the last half of the book deals with the era of the Somozas and Sandinista rule in Nicaragua. In these chapters, Gordon utilizes Antonio Gramsci's concept of "political common sense." In a richly detailed account, based on a decade of ethnographic fieldwork, he describes how Creole political common sense is ambiguous, contradictory, and multiform. He then uses this political common sense concept to explain how Creole

views about the Sandinistas changed, often over very short time periods. One new identity that emerged during the Creole interaction with the Sandinistas was one which emphasized an African diasporic connection. While this identity was popular with some young Creoles, it neither became a predominant Creole identity nor did it replace other diasporic identities.

Gordon's book successfully distinguishes a myriad of identity themes and multiple contexts in which particular themes are emphasized and others de-emphasized. Each theme is supported by the texts of Creole interviews. Gordon undertook an extremely difficult task and provides us with a wealth of interpretation unequalled in Mosquito Coast ethnohistory or ethnography.

Sacred Possessions: Vodou, Santería, Obeah, and the Caribbean. MARGARITE FERNÁNDEZ OLMOS & LIZABETH PARAVISINI-GEBERT. New Brunswick NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1997. viii + 312 pp. (Paper US\$ 17.95)

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Sacred Possessions is an anthology of scholarly essays analyzing aspects of Afro-Caribbean religion as reflected in art and culture, especially novels by and about women. Like a gumbo, the ingredients of this collection are predictably diverse: a basic stew of pomo lit-crit seasoned by a soupçon of ethnography, some spicy cultural studies, and a dose of indigestible Derrida.

Although such eclecticism is now passed off as postmodern, the editors justify their range by invoking the culture of the Caribbean itself, "the locus of diversity, the cradle of ethnic and cultural syncretism ... the world's first multicultural experiment" (p. 1). While few would argue with the Caribbean's creolized diversity, I imagine that Alexandrines, Istanbulis, BaKongo or Acapulcanos might be surprised at such claims to Caribbean singularity or primacy.

Theories on Afro-Caribbean creolization usually resolve themselves into glosses on "syncretism," as they do in the editors' Introduction. To discuss that term, they invoke the familiar litany of canonical scholarship (Bastide *et al.*), but do not reference the seminal work on syncretism pub-

lished over the last score of years by Sidney Mintz, Richard and Sally Price, Robert Farris Thompson, or (especially) John Thornton. Yet it is the research of these contemporary scholars which has demonstrated that the Caribbean's "unique dynamism" – its penchant for cultural innovation – comes straight from Africa. Fon and Kongo religion were busy assimilating Jesus and St. Jacques long before such syncretisms began in the Caribbean. "Unique dynamism" was (and is) a hallmark of African cultures, which assimilate saints (and movie stars) to their pantheons with the insouciance of Coltrane and Miles assimilating tin pan alley tunes to their repertoires.

Without appreciating the complicated historical antecedents to Caribbean syncretism, the editors swallow the old chestnut that Catholic imagery hides the "real" content of African-based religions. Religion may indeed be the common denominator of Caribbean cultures, as the editors argue, but those religions are epiphenomena of African syncretic traditions which are themselves ancient, pervasive, and absent from these essays. Some editorial expertise on Africa might also have excised such misnomers as "tribe" and "ethnic art," or corrected the spelling of "Dahomedan" and "Yoruban."

The first three essays settle on Vodou as inspiration (and nightmare) for Haitian and world artists alike. Joan Dayan sets us off in an appropriate direction by locating the Vodou "gods" (a term Vodouists usually reserve for the Christian supreme being) in the existential vortex of contemporary Haiti, where she keenly observes their persistence and change. Lizabeth Paravasini-Gebert follows with a cultural analysis of Hollywood's celluloid zombie fantasies – that Vodou trope that won't say die. Anna Wexler concludes this section with a celebration of Clotaire Basile, *oungan* (priest) and commercially successful flag maker. Alone among these writers, she gives a voice to her informant. Through their dialogue, Wexler argues for Basile's common spirituality as artist and priest, and her own mission to defend the reputation of the much maligned *oungans*.

The second set of essays is devoted to Cuban Santería. Unlike Vodou in Haiti, Santería is only one part of a much larger mosaic of African religions in Cuba, a fact you wouldn't know from these essays, which make no mention of Palo Mayombe, Abakua, or indeed, of the transplanted Vodou which flourishes in Oriente province. Miguel Barnet leads off with "La Regla de Ocha," an overview of the religion which is marred by some serious factual errors. Inter alia, Barnet asserts that the *babalao* is equivalent to the *santero/la* (they are in fact fiercely competitive offices) and that Olofi, the Yoruba high god, is the name of "a primary Mexican deity" (a claim that might make even Van Sertima wince). More serious than these factual errors is the use of ethnocentric language. It is difficult to know whether one should fault the author or his translator for sentences such as "Their

lives ... revolve around their idolatrous [sic] worship" or "Fanaticism [sic] is illustrated by the phenomenon of possession, common to all Afro-Cuban cults" (pp. 84, 86). The choice of words like "idolatry" or "fanaticism" matters a great deal in the discussion of religions that have so often been demeaned by just such terminology. Perhaps the voice of a practitioner might have proved more adequate to an overview of Afro-Cuban religion or to its translation into English.

Following Barnet are black-and-white photos of religious scenes in Havana by Héctor Delgado and an essay by José Piedra, "From Monkey Tales to Cuban Songs: On Signification" – an exegesis of Cuban poetry which ought to make Skip Gates sorry he brought up the whole subject of signifying monkeys. Piedra conjures Egyptian, Kongo, Yoruba, Efik and Ejagham analogues in his search for a "Key to Cuban Mythology," much like old Causabon searches for the "Key to All Mythologies" in George Eliot's *Middlemarch*. Ironically, this sort of Victorian quest for mythic universals is common at both popular and scholarly levels in the Caribbean (see Milo Rigaud or François Duvalier in Haiti, or any Garveyite/Rasta text from Jamaica). The Santería section ends with an essay on Ifa by Eugenio Matibag, who summarizes the grab-bag of scholarship on this Afro-Cuban divination system from the austere ethnographies of William Bascom to the baroque *fanzines* of Migene Gonzalez-Wippler.

The final section of the anthology focuses on Obeah, the odd man out in Caribbean scholarship. In his excellent essay, "Romantic Voodoo: Obeah and British Culture, 1797-1807," Alan Richardson describes a British dialectic of mockery and terror toward the religion that shadows the historical reception of Vodou and Santería in these United States. His article is followed by a series of lit-crit essays on various women authors (Elizabeth Nunez-Harrell, Jean Rhys, Simone Schwarz-Bart, and Mayra Montero) by various feminist critics (Karla Frye, Elaine Savory, Ivette Romero-Cesareo, Margarite Fernández Olmos, and Brinda Mehta) who use Obeah, or a more generalized Caribbean religiosity, to explicate their works.

Particularly interesting among these is the essay by Mehta on the character of Ma Cia in Schwarz-Bart's *The Bridge of Beyond*. She locates her protagonist in the same kind of spiritually feminized society whose ur-boundaries were first described by J.J. Bachofen a century ago: "spirituality in Antillean society is based on a holistic culture in which all forces of nature ... constitute a harmonious ensemble gravitating toward a centrifugal feminine force." Within this matriarchal force field Ma Cia is described as a "shaman woman." The terminology is curious since shamanism is not a feature of most Afro-Caribbean religions, whose pantheons are compulsively geocentric and dramatically immanent. On the other hand, Native American religions are shamanistic. That's where the question of shaman-

ism in Caribbean cultures might get interesting (see suggestive hints chez Maya Deren or Rachel Beauvoir-Dominique). But few scholars (and none in this book) dare venture toward that undocumented borderland between African and Indian cultures.

The final essay, by Fernández Olmos, explores the fiction of Cuban writer Mayra Montero, who asserts a trans-Caribbean identity as her source of culture and art. Thus in *Del rojo de su sombra* Montero writes about Gaga, Dominican "Vodou," as an example of a non-traditional Caribbean syncretism between ex-colonized people. Such an exposition of heterogeneity raises a question on the nature of this anthology itself. Is this critical gumbo concocted from a native recipe, or from the tropical fantasies of academia? Perhaps the answer lies in the title. To what does "Sacred Possessions" refer? Whatever that profound transformation really portends in Afro-Caribbean religions, the nature of spirit possession is never addressed by any of these writers. Might it perhaps be they who are possessed – like the Hollywood writers and New Orleans merchants they revile – by a sexy and enduring trope?

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The Big Drum Ritual of Carriacou: Praisesongs in Rememory of Flight. LORNA MCDANIEL. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1998. xiv + 198 pp. (Cloth US\$ 39.95)

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Traditions like Vodun in Haiti, Kumina in Jamaica, Shango in Trinidad are, among other things, ritual soundscapes within which practitioners have

forged a sense of shared identity and collective memory. The rhythms and songs of these sites echo the pain of slavery, resound with invocations to African ancestors, and celebrate the resilience of Caribbean peoples. All of these signifiers appear in the praisesongs of Big Drum, one of the most thoroughly documented of all the region's African-derived musical traditions. Like Vodun, Kumina, and Shango, Big Drum or Nation Dance ritual encompasses a large repertoire of songs, drumming, and dance styles. In this volume, Lorna McDaniel draws upon the full range of these elements in an effort to show how the past of the Carriacou people has been imprinted in, and kept alive through, the celebration of Big Drum rituals.

The book is by no means, however, a straightforward historical account of Big Drum. It is an ambitious and innovative attempt to fuse different levels of analysis, interpretation, and representation around the African-Caribbean metaphor of "flight" (i.e. variously the magical flight of return to the ancestral homelands, physical flight from enslavement, ritual flight in song, dance, and religious ecstasy, and the compositional "flight" required to sustain an historical musical legacy). Under the cover of this polysemic metaphor, McDaniel pursues an analysis that is grounded variously in the longstanding anthropological interest in African cultural continuities and in more recent literary theory approaches to the subject matter of Afro-Americana. In the latter regard, the song, ritual, and dance metaphors of Big Drum, derived as they are from the context of a slave society, are treated as signifying "languages" that "store deeply controlled desires and covert interactions." From this vantage point, she embarks on a project of speculative reconstruction in an effort to move beyond continuities of mere cultural form to "read historical attitudes and beliefs" through the coded musical languages and ritual practices of Big Drum (p. 5).

In presenting a classification of the dance-song elements of this tradition, McDaniel draws upon and expands the work of Andrew Pearse, the first scholar to do extensive work on Big Drum. Three overlapping categories of song texts and performance genres are identified: nation dances, creole songs, and frivolous songs. These are presented as corresponding to different phases in the development of Carriacou society, each with its own levels of history-keeping and social commentary.

McDaniel's search for word etymologies in the song texts of these repertoires is central to her effort to reconstruct "historical attitudes and beliefs." Nation dances, for example, are held to reflect the oldest songs that have kept alive an ancestral African memory of places like Guinea, Kongo, and Dahomey along with the pain of separation and the desire for release from slavery via "flight," either metaphorical or actual. The musical and ritual elements of this genre are seen as having provided an organizing framework for Carriacouan slave society. McDaniel draws upon a

combination of linguistic data, historical materials, oral history, and etymological interpretations not only to assert that Africans and their descendants on Carriacou were shaped into a congress of nine “nations,” but to argue that a number of these – the Cromanti, Manding, and Igbo – exercised predominant influence.

In the most intriguing extension of this argument, she suggests an innovation to Herskovits’s paradigm which adds the idea of “reversal” to his process of syncretism. She suggests a shift from Akan matrilineal principles to one of patriliney on Carriacou as part of Cromanti heritage as it was organized within the nation dance. Here she draws our attention to the relationship between Big Drum (as a ritual within which ancestors are invoked and honored) and local kinship ideology – citing the distinctive patrilineal ideology that has been noted for Carriacou by M.G. Smith and other field-workers (pp. 71-73).

No less than nation dances, creole songs are seen as keeping alive a sense of lineage and family as well as reflecting a “need for bonding, social control, and pedagogy” in the development of Carriacou society. A number of these, McDaniel argues, serve the ends of history keeping insofar as they record the names of ancestors who were separated when families were divided by the sale of different members off-island. The frivolous songs reflect the influence of a diversity of imported musical styles on Big Drum performance which began during the early decades of this century. This was a period during which Carriacouans, like masses of other underemployed Caribbean peoples, became involved in cycles of labor migration in order to sustain themselves and their families.

These topics are laid out in the book’s four main chapters – as McDaniel tacks back and forth between features that appear to make Big Drum distinctive (e.g., an honoring of ancestors *without* accompanying spirit possession) and its underlying similarities with other Afro-Caribbean traditions (e.g., the use of performance and ritual to encode history and social commentary). Throughout this work, McDaniel’s analysis serves to remind us not only of the ways in which the complexities of local history have shaped diverse expressions of the African heritage in the Caribbean but also of the fact that these traditions have never been hermetically sealed off from one another.

If there is a problem with this book, it derives from the indeterminacy of meaning which accompanies much of the author’s analysis. While McDaniel frankly notes that her interpretive project is necessarily one of speculation, she fails to adequately locate her own subjectivity (along with that of her primary informants). In her introduction, she confesses that despite her efforts to “write a work devoid of exploitative techniques, an analysis that includes rather than excludes, that shares ‘authority’ and that

incorporates the voice of the culture bearer, I have arrived at selections by deciding which of them move *me* and which of them tell *my* history. In this text I locate myself as 'insider' or 'outsider' alternately depending on the discussion" (p. 7). Readers, however, are left to guess about when she is speaking from these different positions. Especially since McDaniel has worked intensively with a number of the surviving "older heads" of this tradition, I often found myself straining, as it were, to "hear" their voices. Hoping at least to gauge something of their perspective, I repeatedly found myself wishing that she would more routinely juxtapose some of their statements, feelings, and sentiments about the meaning of music and dance in Big Drum with her own analysis.

Lorna McDaniel's work is clearly intended to honor this tradition and its practitioners; but her use of literary theory – which treats such diverse elements as song texts, movement styles, and ritual elements as a "language" – often seems to route its meanings in directions that may be of questionable relevance for those who are its primary culture bearers. She searches for the "attenuated meanings" associated with ancestral names, or for "stylistic ingredients that reverse and thicken meaning" (p. 121). These descriptions are left to stand without further explanation. At times, the overall weight given to certain stylistic elements seems arbitrary. For example, I wondered why greater weight was not given to Kongo elements within the nation dance. The author cites not only the supposed incidence of "Kongo" peoples within the early Carriacou population and the fact that the drums (*kata* and *boula*) retain Kongo-derived names, but the Kongo symbolism of the crossroads (crossed towels) which orients dancers to the cosmology found in the rituals of Big Drum (pp. 75-76).

There are also points at which McDaniel seems to unduly stretch her interpretation of stylistic elements. Observing that members of the Yoruba nation were neither included in the original slave population nor brought as nineteenth-century indentured laborers to Carriacou, she nevertheless argues that Big Drum evinces elements of shared cultural inheritances from such groups. Pointing out that even though Esu Elegbara, the Yoruba god of the crossroads and gatekeeper to ritual invocations across various Afro-Caribbean traditions, is not formally part of Big Drum, she sees "principles associated with his personae" as permeating its rituals (p. 121). McDaniel discerns the presence of this deity in the customary placement of three introductory songs in Big Drum ritual which she sees as "analogous to the fleeting invitation of Esu/Legba in the Rada community of Trinidad" (p. 121). Her point of departure for this gloss derives from the importance that Henry Louis Gates has recently suggested for Esu as a "multifaceted cultural idiom" (p. 120) more than any substantive historical or ethnographic evidence. Invocations and oral iterations in three's abound across the range

of Caribbean traditions; but is this really a residual sign of Esu? It is in relation to these kinds of generalizations that one must critically assess McDaniel's claim that because her research "searches history as perceived by the 'old parents' and exposed through their songs, there must be a reclaiming of a certain subjectivity here" (p. 43). In these instances the subjectivity that is reclaimed has more to do with intellectual fashion than it does with the practitioners of Big Drum, past or present.

An unfortunate flaw in McDaniel's mode of exposition is the fact that she does not make clear at the outset that Big Drum is a tradition in decline, and has been from the early decades of this century. She points to the 1920s as the final stage of active song composition in the tradition (p. 153) and directs her readers to a continuation in some of its sensibilities in the secular styles of calypso. There is, in effect, a radical disjuncture with the present which comes into focus only later in the book. Because McDaniel is preoccupied with the signifying forms of Big Drum and with the cultural continuities they may encode, she fails to situate this tradition within a broader exploration of the complex historical conditions under which African identities and traditions are remembered *and* forgotten – as well as transformed.

Some of McDaniel's generalizations about the ways in which cultural knowledge is associated with participation in Big Drum beg the issue of its decline and transformation. She tells us, for example, that Big Drum texts are not part of everyday discourse but rather part of a coded language the knowledge of which confers authority upon the knower (p. 15). Naturally, one hopes to learn what kind of authority and, in light of the current state of this tradition, how the nature or scope of this authority has been altered or eroded. These questions acquire salience in light of McDaniel's disclosure that contemporary Big Drum not only "commemorates the major life events of individuals, families, and the community," but that "the event may also be performed as a cultural concert for tourists, a political celebration, or a regatta show" (p. 19). I, for one, hope that Lorna McDaniel will soon provide us with yet another view of this rich Afro-Caribbean tradition – one in which we begin to understand more of what the tradition means to its contemporary practitioners and how, in a present-day field of social relations, it continues to secure an African identity for the people of Carriacou.

Dancing Spirits: Rhythms and Rituals of Haitian Vodun, the Rada Rite. GERDÈS FLEURANT. Westport CT: Greenwood, 1996. xvi + 240 pp. (Cloth US\$ 59.95)

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Dancing Spirits grows from Gerdès Fleurant's long term involvement with Haitian Vodou.¹ His involvement traces a path similar to that of many engaged Caribbean intellectuals: from a middle-class background as a Haitian aware of the religion as "an object of curiosity" (p. 2), to a rediscovery of roots in the diaspora (Boston, in this case), to intensified participant-observation as an adept and later as an *oungan* (priest) and drummer. Fleurant's primary contact with Vodou has been in the temple of the late master drummer Coyote (Philoclès Rosenbère), located in Bòpo (Bon Repos) in the Plaine de Cul-de-Sac, a stronghold of Vodou. Coyote, one of the most authoritative of modern practitioners, was also a key informant for other researchers, notably Maya Deren and her husband, Teiji Ito.

At the outset, Fleurant states that he will focus on the songs and drumming of one major ritual, Rada. (A book on Rada's companion rite, *petwo/petro*, is in process.) In fact, he attempts more. This is both a strength of the book and its main problem: Fleurant broaches a large number of topics, some providing necessary background, some touching on unexpected aspects of Vodou, each of them worthwhile in itself, and all of them together enriching our appreciation for the depth of Vodou. At the same time Fleurant rushes through many of these topics, failing to explore them in detail, jumping from one to the next, and distracting attention from his stated theme, the songs and drumming of Rada. For example, Chapter 2 sketches Vodou's history, relates it to Haiti's harsh political-economic conditions, introduces Coyote, his temple, and some members of his circle, and outlines a generic Rada ceremony as practiced in Bòpo. But the chapter takes up barely seventeen pages, which is simply not enough to present all these topics, even as background for later chapters. Similarly, Chapter 4 opens up interesting discussions of drums as ritual objects, drummers and singers as ritual practitioners and community leaders, and issues of authenticity and tourism. Fifteen pages do not do these topics justice, and they are not well tied to the rest of the presentation.

1. Fleurant uses "Vodun," but the currently prevailing orthography is "Vodou."

Fleurant variously claims to present Rada from “a performance practice perspective” (p. 49) and to synthesize “a generic model” (p. 50). He begins with the latter, in his sketch of the ritual in Chapter 2, and continuing in Chapter 3, which describes the several music/dance forms used in Rada, e.g., *yanvalou*, *mayi*, and *zepòl*). Rada is a very flexible ritual, consisting of a sequence of possession trances and related activities (e.g., displaying flags and making ceremonial drawings). Within this format, the immediate purposes and contingencies of any particular ceremony shape its course. Thus the “generic model” is useful. However, even in the more analytical chapters that follow, Fleurant does not often focus on actual ceremonies, on performers shaping the general outline to specific events. In addition, he often fails to distinguish whether he is writing of Rada in Haiti in general, the Plaine de Cul-de-Sac, or Coyote’s temple. Is the ritual practiced in the same way throughout Haiti? How does Coyote’s version relate to others?

I found the closer analysis of Chapter 5, “The Music of the Rada Battery,” more compelling. Fleurant begins with intriguing comparisons between Rada and West African ensemble drumming (specifically, the Ewe dance *Agbekor*), continues with basic drumming patterns and selected variations for each of the drums in each of the Rada dances as played by Coyote and his disciples, and then presents a selection of *kasé* (breaks) – the master drum interventions that trigger possession – and their associated responses on supporting instruments. Apart from the remarks on Rada and *Agbekor*, the perspective here is, finally, that of performance practice. Particularly fascinating are a number of statements by individual drummers about their approach to playing specific passages. Yet even here Fleurant holds back, claiming (contrary to the evidence), “No effort is made here to discuss personal style” (pp. 49-50). Why not allow his access to major individual artists to become the basis for his exposition?

The title of Chapter 6, “The Song Texts in the Ritual Context,” suggests both an interpretation of texts and a relating of texts to practice. But again performance practice gets short shrift. The songs appear in their ritual sequence, which is simply the sequence in which the *lwa* are worshipped; Fleurant gives few examples of performers working with this sequence, selecting particular songs to guide or effect ritual action. On the other hand, the textual interpretations are a highlight of the book. Fleurant unveils a wealth of cultural knowledge in these terse, evocative lyrics. It is not made clear, however, whether these interpretations are his own or those of his informants.

Chapter 7, “Analysis of Song Tunes,” zips through the modal and melodic features of a selection of forty-seven songs (why these forty-seven?), with at least one interesting result: contrary to frequent claims that African and diasporic melodic motion is downwards, many of these songs

“undulate.” A final chapter on dance is, again, sketchy – although, to be fair, music is the book’s main topic. There is a useful glossary, plus an appendix with transcriptions of the seventy-seven songs discussed in Chapters 6 and 7. The appendix makes a welcome addition to other collections of Vodou songs.

Despite suggestive insights, *Dancing Spirits* addresses too many topics without establishing a clear perspective. But I conclude this reluctantly, and it seems harsh on the author. The issues I’ve raised seem less matters of content than of presentation, and should have been addressed by a firm editor during the writing/publication process. Read the book anyway, for it contains a wealth of detailed information that is simply unavailable anywhere else.

Pride against Prejudice: Haitians in the United States. ALEX STEPICK. Boston: Allyn & Bacon, 1998. x + 134 pp. (Paper US\$ 19.20)

Haitian Immigrants in Black America: A Sociological and Sociolinguistic Portrait. FLORE ZÉPHIR. Westport CT: Bergin & Garvey, 1996. xvi + 180 pp. (Cloth US\$ 55.00)

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Taken together, these two books offer rich perspectives on the experience of Haitian immigrants in the United States. Both authors explore the ways in which Haitian immigrants participate in the American discourse and struggle to create a space in the landscape of American pluralistic society. Flore Zéphir brings an insider’s intimate understanding of the Haitian immigrant experience and of the role of Creole in shaping and maintaining Haitian ethnic identity. On the other hand, Alan Stepick’s perspective is informed by a long association with Haitian immigrants in South Florida, as an advocate and a researcher. His vantage point is a small, homogeneous community of rural and urban poor immigrants who settled in Miami’s Little Haiti in the late 1970s, while Zéphir provides “a portrait from within” (p. 15) of the large, diverse, well-established community of New York City. Both authors shed light on the debate on multiculturalism, heightened by the increased immigration from non-European countries, and on the

strategic use of ethnicity in shaping interactions among various groups. Their works reflect how American concepts of race and ethnicity influence the process of identity formation among Haitians in the United States as well as Haitian interactions with African Americans and other Americans.

Pride against Prejudice is a carefully crafted ethnography that demonstrates Stepick's firm grasp of the Haitian experience in Miami's Little Haiti. The book describes the odyssey of the wave of Haitian immigrants who began arriving in South Florida in the late 1970s. Stepick started fieldwork with this community when boat people were interned at Krome. He followed the immigrants as they were "thrust into the underside of America" (p. 114) and turned an inner-city ghetto into an ethnic enclave; as they faced racist policies that favored Cuban refugees; and as they watch their children struggle to create their own brand of Haitian identity.

The book opens with the powerful stories of Phede and Herb, two promising Haitian young men, whose choices and lifestyles reflect the conflicts that Haitians experience as they "skate along the hyphen" that links them to Haitian and American cultures. Phede's choice painfully demonstrates the high cost of prejudice and racism. Weary of stereotypes of Haitians as poor, dirty, disease ridden, AIDS infected, economic refugees here to take jobs away and feed on the system, Phede chooses complete assimilation. He suppresses all markers of his Haitian origins and pegs his success on being accepted as African American. When someone recognizes him as a "cover-up Haitian," his world collapses and he kills himself rather than face the shame of being Haitian. Herb, on the other hand, resolves the tension by integrating aspects of both cultures. He shows pride in his Haitian roots, celebrates his native culture and adopts its values while also learning to move in the new society. He Americanizes his name from Hervé to Herb, wears African American stylish clothes, and learns to rap.

Stepick uses these stories as metaphors in his analysis of the adaptation process of immigrants in general, and of Haitians in particular. Throughout the book, we follow the tug between pride and prejudice, myth and reality, assimilation and integration, especially as they affect the younger generation. In Little Haiti, youth are caught between the traditional Haitian culture and values of their parents' generation on the one hand and the demands and appeal of African American and American cultures on the other. Their attempts to integrate these competing systems often lead to loss of cultural values and "segmentary assimilation" (p. 73). Some, like Phede, adopt African American ways to escape prejudice and negative stereotypes of Haitians, only to find themselves victims of racism directed at African Americans. Others, like Herb, become "multicultural individuals" (p. 118) who successfully use Haitian values and hard work to climb out of the ghettos.

to to "become middle-class Black, who may [also] be perceived as ... African American" (p. 119).

Stepick is careful in pointing out that the migration experience described in *Pride against Prejudice* is not singular or particular to Haitian immigrants. What marks the experience of Haitians in the United States is the discrimination and racism they encounter. He compares the treatment of Haitian and Cuban refugees in the 1980s to illustrate the effects of prejudice and negative stereotypes. Although both groups entered the country illegally, fleeing repressive governments and poverty, the powerful Cuban lobby (which kept Castro's communist regime in the public eye) as well as the skin color of most Cuban immigrants, played significant roles in the Cubans' success in American society.

While Stepick is sensitive to the experience and pain of Haitian immigrants, he also acknowledges the profound changes and economic burden those immigrants place on South Florida. These burdens are shared by several immigrant groups who use Florida as a gateway to the United States and, in the process, are changing the profile of the region.

Pride against Prejudice showcases Stepick's solid work as an ethnographer. Like the other volumes in the New Immigrants series, it contributes to a better understanding of the process of adaptation and of the contributions of immigrants as they help create a new and more diverse America. The book stresses that the process of adaptation is painful and slow for Haitians in Little Haiti, yet it is carried out with pride, dignity, and determination. Informant stories, a careful methodology, objective analysis, and use of theory in a clear and easily accessible style make this book extremely useful in the classroom. It demonstrates that anthropologists can make a difference when they put their knowledge at the service of policy makers, service providers, or community workers. Anthropologists can assist people to make sense of their experience by putting it in a larger perspective.

In *Haitian Immigrants in Black America*, Zéphir targets a different audience and sets out to accomplish a very different task. She explores the distinctions between race and ethnicity and the tendency to conflate them in American society. Her analysis demonstrates that when race and ethnicity remain undifferentiated, we lose the rich variety of cultural and class differences of black groups. Since Haitians represent the second largest group of black immigrants in this country, it is relevant to explore their experience as blacks but also their distinctiveness from African Americans and other black groups in the United States. Her analysis helps to clarify the differences between Haitian and American concepts of race and the centrality of ethnicity as a way for Haitians to mark their unique culture and history in a race-defined society. Haitians peg their cultural survival on a deliberate choice to stress ethnic identity and skirt identifications based only on race.

Zéphir's main goal is to address empirically the process of identity formation in the United States using the experience of Haitians in New York as a case study. She constructs her analysis along a dialectic opposition between macro factors (how immigrant groups are classified and slotted by the host society) and micro factors (how particular groups define themselves vis-à-vis the larger society and how they construct and maintain their identity). She proposes that adapting to U.S. culture means redefining oneself and coming to grips with the realities of race, ethnicity, and language in American culture (p. 15).

Haitian Immigrants in Black America masterfully tackles the complex dynamics of social stratification and the strategic use of ethnicity in New York's Haitian community. It explores the dual use of language as an indicator of the uniqueness of Haitian-Americans as an ethnic group and the internal diversity and stratified nature of this group. The Haitian community of New York is a microcosm of stratified Haitian society. Compared to the predominantly homogeneous Little Haiti, New York's community is very diverse. In New York, one finds people from all social class and economic backgrounds, of rural and urban origins, and different educational levels and occupations. At the same time, it is also a place where individuals can recreate themselves both as Haitian-Americans and as Haitians. The currency of this identity barter is language: one's ability to speak Haitian Creole, French, and English. Language becomes a marker of one's original place in Haitian social structure as well as one's new position in the Haitian community of New York City. Creole becomes the universal marker of Haitian ethnic identity vis-à-vis African Americans, the larger black community, as well as the larger American society. Therefore Creole, which until recently marked the lower social status associated with Creole monolinguals in Haiti, "under[goes] transnational modifications" (p. 106) to become the hallmark of Haitian ethnicity abroad.

Together, Zéphir and Stepick provide a holistic picture of the Haitian diaspora in the United States. They show the diverse nature of the Haitian immigrant experience and the ways in which social and cultural environments, settlement size and diversity, and political factors influence the evolution and character of individual immigrant communities. Even though the communities they describe have marked differences, each illustrates the devastating effects of the "harshness of ... American social reality" (Zéphir, p. 147) and "the magnitude of racial prejudice in contemporary American society" (Stepick, p. 116). However, they thankfully stress the struggles of Haitian immigrants to assert their presence in this country and overcome powerful odds to create vibrant communities.

Pleasure Island: Tourism and Temptation in Cuba. ROSALIE SCHWARTZ. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1997. xxiv + 239 pp. (Cloth US\$ 45.00)

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Rosalie Schwartz's *Pleasure Island* is a comprehensive study of Cuban tourism during the twentieth century and its relationship to shifts in the U.S. economy and in Cuban politics. The book is organized chronologically and recognizes three boom periods in the island's tourist industry: the 1920s, 1950s, and 1990s.

Schwartz demonstrates how intimately tied tourism in Cuba has been to changing attitudes and circumstances in the United States. During the 1920s, she argues, for example, Cuban tourism took advantage of a new North American state of mind based on the "pleasure principle." The passing of the Volstead Act (Prohibition) in 1919, hurricanes and frosts affecting Florida's tourist destinations at various times, the onset of the Great Depression in the 1930s, the application of the Good Neighbor policy by the United States, and other developments in North America had a profound impact on tourism in Cuba. Recognizing the extent of these links, Schwartz pays attention to both the United States and Cuba and to their respective historiographies. Within the text, she is able to move back and forth between the two sides of the Strait of Florida within a seemingly seamless narrative flow.

One of the book's central themes is the relationship between politics and tourism in the Cuban context. Graft and corruption were at the heart of this interplay. Schwartz traces the process whereby politicians since the early days of the Republic sought personal gain through direct and indirect involvement in the creation and expansion of a tourism infrastructure. She exposes, for example, the corrupt dealings of Carlos Manuel de Céspedes, José Manuel Cortina, and Carlos Manuel de la Cruz ("the three Cs"), who profited scandalously from tourism-related concessions and speculation while holding posts in Cuba's cabinet or legislature. During the late 1920s and early 1930s, Gerardo Machado's dictatorial regime continued to exploit tourism-related projects as a source of profit for well-connected politicians and used the growth of tourism, in general, to gain legitimacy both domestically and abroad. Later in the century, during the periods of direct or indirect rule by Fulgencio Batista, particularly his second dictatorship (1952-

58), Cuba's tourist industry became increasingly tied to gambling and U.S. organized crime through the direct participation of the likes of Meyer Lansky, "Lucky" Luciano, and Lefty Clark. In the book's final two chapters, Schwartz explores the relationship between Fidel Castro's revolutionary government and the tourist industry. Contrary to popular belief, Castro did not target the tourist industry that he inherited from fellow dictator Batista, not even the gambling side of it, whose importance as a revenue-earner he soon recognized. The collapse of the island's tourism in the immediate aftermath of the revolution's triumph was not, according to Schwartz, the result of "moral outrage on the part of Castro's minions," but of other circumstances beyond the reach of the revolutionaries' control.

Pleasure Island is beautifully written and well organized. Schwartz employs a wide variety of literary techniques that make for an enjoyable read. Among these we find vivid descriptions of important events in the history of Cuban tourism, such as club and hotel inaugurations and short biographies of políticos, mobsters, and other characters playing key roles in the unfolding drama. Unfortunately, several editorial mistakes slipped past the author, editors, and proofreaders, most notably the misspelling (four times) of Batista's first name as Fulgencia.

Perhaps the main flaw of *Pleasure Island* is its failure to convey that Cuba was – and still is – first and foremost a sugar island. Only in the 1990s, with Cuba's sugar industry enduring a sustained crisis and with the island's manufacturing sector experiencing a virtual halt, has tourism reached the position of the island's second revenue earner. During the previous nine decades, tourism was a relatively marginal sector of the economy. Since the book focuses on the tourist industry without attempting to clarify its position within the general economy, readers may get the impression that Cuba was a tourist island, in the sense that one can speak of present-day St. Thomas or the Bahamas as tourist islands. From a U.S. perspective, and particularly that of U.S. tourists, Cuba may have appeared to be a "pleasure island," but the average Cuban – even the average Habanero – lived beyond the shadow of the sky-scraping hotels and beyond the corrupting reach of the gambling sector.

All in all, however, *Pleasure Island* is a welcome contribution to the small and highly polemical body of historiography on twentieth-century Cuba. The book avoids the often grotesque distortions of the before-and-after-1959 model which dominates our understanding of Cuba's recent history. The study of Cuba's tourist industry, as Schwartz ably demonstrates, provides a fresh and valuable window onto a variety of topics such as Cuba's relations with the United States, the moral and military collapse of the Batista regime, and the opportunistic economic policy shifts of Castro's regime.

My Footsteps in Baraguá. Script and direction by Gloria Rolando. VHS, 53 minutes. Havana: Mundo Latino, 1996. (US\$ 125.00 for institutions, US\$ 33.00 for individuals)

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Oral narratives of the migration experiences of black British Caribbean islanders in Cuba in the early twentieth century are the center of Gloria Rolando's *My Footsteps in Baraguá*. This documentary film can be roughly divided into four parts. It begins with narratives about the socio-cultural aspects of the immigrants' life such as food culture, religion, language, music, and identity. The second part changes the setting from Cuba to Panama, and is geared by oral accounts about West Indians who arrived in Cuba after working on the Canal. A third section returns to Cuba and provides narratives on the social and labor divisions experienced by the immigrants. The concluding accounts expose the immigrants' reasons for staying in Cuba and their developed family ties and roots in the community.

The film unveils captivating aspects of the history of black immigrants and opens a window to different connections and discussions about the migration experience in Cuba. Valuable oral data are provided, but some interesting issues surrounding the narratives remain untouched. For example, while the Church is present as an important part of the immigrants' culture, it is not connected with other institutions such as Marcus Garvey's UNIA or the Salvation Army. "The Army" is only mentioned in one informant's enumeration of the churches in the community, and the UNIA, strongly related to religion in Cuba, is not mentioned at all, despite its role in the relief of the immigrants in distress.

One informant exposes the British colonial identity of the immigrants and asserts that "they were really British subjects." He also acknowledges that many of them were clear about their "nation" (meaning island) of origin. Both of these identifications are present in the narratives, but the remembrance of the islands of origin emanates somehow more clearly in the memory of the informants. One woman asserts in a peculiar shift of languages: "*Yo no soy Jamaicana ... my parents are Grenadian and Trinidadian.*" This response reinforces the importance of island identity, the

disparaging character of the term *Jamaiquino* in Cuba, and perhaps (by the body language exposed) the existent tensions between the different islanders.

The presence of the British colonial identity was, nonetheless, a strong characteristic among the immigrants in Cuba. Aspects presented in the film, such as cricket, a sport strongly related to British imperial values, and the Anglican Church, are tangible elements of this colonial identity. Therefore, it is relevant that these migrants, who needed to identify themselves as "British subjects" in many instances, played cricket and, one might tentatively propose, used it as a statement of their British allegiance in Cuba. Thus, we can understand the presence and practice of the Anglican religion within the communities.

Some relevant issues about the immigrants' experience while in Cuba are not present in the oral accounts of the film. The numerous events of "ill-treatment" against the immigrants and the deportations in the 1920s and 1930s appear to be forgotten in the collective memory of the informants. There is no reference to the conditions suffered by immigrants at the Quarantine Station upon arrival in Santiago de Cuba. The sad tales of the film are limited to Panama, even when the experience in Cuba had equally sad stories. One person argues that being a "British subject was a means of [social] defense" and that "they [the immigrants] avoided or solved problems" through this affiliation. However, viewers are not given an idea of the specific problems the immigrants confronted or the people against whom they had to defend themselves. On many occasions the immigrants faced problems with Cuban authorities and sugar managers, and it was then that, strategically, they claimed British allegiance.

The sugar industry, the main reason for this immigration, is not explicitly mentioned in the film until after the narration of the Panama Canal. It is only then that we catch an idea of the problems confronted by the immigrants in the social and labor arena. References are made to the social and racial divisions and discriminations within the Baraguá Sugar Company and to the distinctions at the labor levels between the immigrants and other white employees. The trends of this labor migration are also exposed through the mention of specific years of arrival and departure of some of the informants or their parents. Rolando's clear exposition of the Panama-Cuba migratory connection is a valuable contribution as it deserves the attention of scholars. Women's participation in the migrations to Cuba is well illustrated when descendants clearly refer to the place of origin of their *mothers*. Although labor migration was indeed predominantly male, women immigrants in Cuba had a relevant social role at many levels within the migrant communities.

The documentary accomplishes Rolando's goal of picturing part of the history of British West Indians in Cuba and succeeds as a trigger for historical discussion on the topic. *My Footsteps in Baraguá* is a valuable tool for teachers and students willing to learn and begin a debate on Caribbean migration history.

Inside the Revolution: Everyday Life in Socialist Cuba. MONA ROSENDAHL. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1997. x + 194 pp. (Cloth US\$ 37.50, Paper US\$ 14.95)

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The field of Cuban studies is dominated by studies that are not primarily based on extensive research in the country itself – and even those that *are* based on such research tend to maintain a safe distance from contemporary problems. Since 1959, research on contemporary Cuba has been particularly limited in anthropology, due to the state's reluctance to allow any scholarly exercise that might stray from the narrow confines authorized by the regime. Since the work of Oscar Lewis in the late 1960s, few foreign anthropologists have been allowed to conduct serious fieldwork in the country. *Inside the Revolution*, which focuses on a small town in Oriente presented under the fictional name of Palmera, is therefore a welcome fresh start, since the author had the opportunity to study everyday life in Cuba for fifteen months in 1988-90, and again for shorter stints in 1993 and 1995.

Rosendahl, an anthropologist of Swedish origin, uses the first chapters of her book to present a balanced overview of the community and to describe how the economic system functioned before the Eastern European *Wende*, the subsequent withdrawal of the Soviet bloc's crucial economic support, and the proclamation of the *período especial* (a euphemism for deep economic crisis and the search for alternative options within the limits of a planned economy). Much of what Rosendahl documents as the workings of the economy is now past history, and as such perhaps not as interesting as it might have been ten years ago. However, against the backdrop of this now devastated economic system she raises questions that remain relevant today.

Two interrelated themes form the core of the book: politics in everyday life and gender. In addressing politics, Rosendahl does not ignore the fact that communist orthodoxy, and particularly the Communist Party (PCC), dominate virtually every aspect of Cuban society. The communist state's control over society is firm, as is its control over the occasional foreign researcher allowed to study its workings. The site of Palmera was chosen for her by the state, which ordered the community's institutions to cooperate with her study, and then swiftly withdrew authorization for continued fieldwork at the outset of the *período especial*. As Rosendahl rightly observes, the authorities probably anticipated further economic decline, and hence popular unrest. "This was not a good basis, as the leaders saw it, for an anthropological investigation," she comments dryly. This particular personal setback reminded her strongly of the use of power in Cuba, which she characterizes as "capricious, tacit, fluid, and therefore much more difficult to handle," yet she asserts that it did not change her general impression of Palmeran society (pp. 25-26).

In Rosendahl's analysis of pre-1989 Palmera, then, politics was clearly dominated by the communist institutions and their local organizations, yet it need not be identified with a purely one-way, upside-down chain of command imposed on a voiceless citizenry. In her view, ordinary Palmerans have some influence on the system higher up, and their awareness of this, combined with a certain satisfaction with the results of three decades of "revolutionary" regime, explains the average citizen's positive engagement with the regime. Of course, as she readily admits, room for dissent is very limited anyway. This analysis is developed with references to field observations that may or may not persuade all readers – it is precisely the impossibility to conduct large-scale (particularly quantitative) research on these issues that makes it virtually impossible to present results amenable to some kind of verification. In any case, the picture becomes considerably grimmer in the post-1989 period, and Rosendahl admits that much of the previous confidence in the revolution and its ideology has been eroded. Pragmatism dictates Cuban life, in Palmera too; and people have less interest in socialist rhetoric than ever before. Yet, Rosendahl suggests, both traditional values such as reciprocity and dignity, "folk versions of socialism," and re-found values such as patriotism still combine to make most Cubans loyal citizens of this socialist nation.

The doctrine of Cuban socialism has advocated equal opportunities for all, obviously including the dimension of gender. In accounting for the fact that four decades of this revolution have hardly succeeded in overcoming traditional gender divisions, Rosendahl does not limit herself to rehearsing the traditional explanations of machismo, the male/female "reputation vs. respectability" distinction, etc. She makes a convincing argument that the

whole rhetoric of socialist values from the beginning of the revolution have dovetailed all too comfortably with the traditional values of masculinity. Thus, for a man, being a good socialist implies most of the traditional values of a macho; and for a woman it means complying with this gendered definition of life.

Inside the Revolution is a seriously researched and generally well-written (albeit perhaps slightly predictable) monograph. It depicts a Cuban community living under a political system in which traditional values that will long outlive the revolution have proved to be more enduring than politics. Within these, gender is a major dimension, "race" and color another. Remarkably, Rosendahl virtually ignores the latter, even though it looms very large in the everyday life of Cubans.

Between Race and Empire: African-Americans and Cubans Before the Cuban Revolution. LISA BROCK & DIGNA CASTAÑEDA FUERTES (eds.). Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1998. xii + 298 pp. (Cloth US\$ 59.95, Paper US\$ 22.95)

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The issues raised by this book are very much alive in today's headlines. The African-American members of the U.S. Congress are among the harshest critics of the embargo against Cuba and any measure to tighten economic sanctions against the communist island. Their debates with the three Cuban-American members of Congress, who favor the embargo, are often passionate and vitriolic. The debates underscore a deep sympathy by the African-American community toward the struggle by Cubans against U.S. domination. It is clear from those debates that the contributors to this book of essays have struck an important nerve.

The essays build on the theme that African-Americans and Cubans, particularly Afro-Cubans, have undergone common experiences of oppression. Each has been treated as the inferior "other" by the U.S. government and the "white-European" elites that have traditionally controlled power in both countries. The harsh segregation of the United States made virtual non-citizens of African-Americans for much of this century, while North American neo-colonial domination and the Protestant "civilizing mission" had a similar impact on Cubans of all colors. The impact of U.S. domination of Cuba

was felt especially keenly by Afro-Cubans, who had to deal not only with racism in their own society, but also with institutional segregation and bias imported from the United States. It is this shared history of oppression and the struggle against that oppression that create an ongoing political and cultural dialogue between the two communities. As the book's essays on poetry demonstrate, they often speak in a similar language.

However, the essays steer away from a simple analysis of shared wrongs, carefully ferreting out important differences between the two communities, which speak a similar language, but not the same one. The essay by Keith Ellis, "Nicolás Guillén and Langston Hughes: Convergences and Divergences," expresses well the differences between the Cuban "sense" of race and North American racism. While Guillén was not oblivious to Cuban racism, he felt himself a part of Cuba and wrote of "the whole unerasable mulatto condition of the island." Guillén was ultimately acknowledged as one of Cuba's great poets, while Hughes died indigent and despairing of the African-American condition. Carmen Gómez García builds on Ellis's analysis in "Cuban Social Poetry and the Struggle against Two Racisms," tracing the evolution of Afro-Cuban poetry from the oral tradition of the slaves through the "negrista movement" and the emergence of social poetry with strong anti-racist and anti-imperialist themes.

Unlike many works emerging from the academy, these essays are genuinely enjoyable to read without diverging from their scholarly mission. "Not Just Black: African-Americans, Cubans, and Baseball," by Lisa Brock and Bijan Bayne, details how African-Americans and Cubans used baseball to mediate racism and, in the case of Cubans, foreign domination by first the Spanish and later the United States. The Cuban and African-American teams were every bit as good as the white ones and often proved it when they played against each other in exhibition games. The essay also demonstrates the elasticity and at the same time the rigidity of racial definitions. Prior to the integration of Major League baseball, integrated Cuban teams were often treated as "black" and only allowed to play on the Negro circuit. However, in the competition for talent among white club owners, some of the "whiter" Cuban players were allowed to play in the Major Leagues, although they were never completely accepted as white by some fans and the media, because of suspicions of inter-breeding and an "inferior" Spanish heritage. The African-American and Cuban players brought their own sense of entertainment, rhythm, and mischief to the game, which Brock, in her introduction, attributes to an "African sensibility." This same sense of improvisation jumps out from the essay "CuBop! Afro-Cuban Music and Mid-Twentieth-Century American Culture" by Geoffrey Jacques, who writes of the magical partnership between Dizzy Gillespie and Luciano

"Chano" Pozo. Together the two were able to bring about a synthesis between Cuban-American dance music and African-American jazz.

The essays are perhaps at their best when they demonstrate the ways in which African-Americans and Cubans failed to communicate. Like any ongoing dialogue there are occasional lapses and the essays point out several of those as well. Jualynne E. Dodson reveals one such lapse in "Encounters in the African Atlantic World: The African Methodist Episcopal Church in Cuba." Despite efforts by AME missionaries to establish an international African ministry, the missionaries sent to Cuba in the first half of the twentieth century were unable to establish lasting ties with the Afro-Cuban population. The African-based religions practiced by many Afro-Cubans no doubt hampered the appeal of the AME's message and Dodson notes that these religious practices were seldom addressed by the missionaries, whose own middle-class values and imperial thinking may have doomed their efforts at proselytization. The essay underlines the weakness of race-based appeals on Afro-Cubans, who clearly considered themselves just as Cuban as their white contemporaries. An inability to understand this point no doubt contributed to the failure of Marcus Garvey's Black Nationalist message. Tomás Fernández Robaina explores this in his essay, "Marcus Garvey in Cuba: Urrutia, Cubans, and Black Nationalism." Garvey's message was largely rejected, Fernández Robaina argues, because of the heavy participation by Afro-Cubans in the Cuban Independence Wars and efforts by José Martí and Antonio Maceo to bring them into the political process. Along the same lines, Nancy Raquel Mirabal ("Telling Silences and Making Community") found that Afro-Cubans living in Ybor City, Florida, in the early 1900s shied away from political and social interaction with African-Americans, even though they were forced to attend black schools and use black facilities. They preferred instead to "negotiate" against the racial label placed on them by the state of Florida and retain their ties with white Cubans and their sense of *cubanidad*.

Among the anthology's strengths are three essays on the media's role in shaping and reflecting cultural influences. The chapters by David J. Hellwig and Van Gosse look at the African-American media's response to key events in Cuban history, the Race War of 1912, and the Cuban Revolution. And an essay by Rosalie Schwartz concentrates on the debate over Cuban and North American perceptions of race as expressed in the popular Havana newspaper column, "Ideales de una Raza."

Lisa Brock rightfully acknowledges in her closing footnote one of the collection's primary weaknesses, the lack of women's voices in the work. Only one of the essays, "*Minerva*: A Magazine for Women (and Men) of Color," focuses its attention on Afro-Cuban women and their efforts to address racism without disturbing relationships between Afro-Cuban men

and women. Brock suggests the need for a similar anthology devoted to the "experiences and polemics of women."

Another weakness, I would add, is the underlying assumption that the revolutionary government has adequately addressed the issues of race. The very title suggests that an analysis of race in revolutionary Cuba is beyond its scope, yet most of the authors, providing very little in the way of proof, argue or imply that race relations are indeed better. Castañeda Fuertes writes in her conclusion that in the aftermath of the revolution, "Opportunities for jobs and economic security were open to all. I myself am a product of that time of hope and prosperity" (p. 283). Yet a look at the top revolutionary leadership in Cuba will find few Afro-Cuban faces. There are in fact few comprehensive studies of race relations in revolutionary Cuba and an anthology like this one is very much needed for the period after 1959.

All in all, however, this is an excellent collection of essays that makes an important contribution to scholarship on the relationships between African-Americans and Cubans.

Puerto Rican Jam: Rethinking Colonialism and Nationalism. FRANCES NEGRÓN-MUNTANER & RAMÓN GROSFOGUEL (eds.). Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997. x + 303 pp. (Cloth US\$ 49.95, Paper US\$ 19.95)

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After one hundred years of U.S. colonialism in Puerto Rico and nearly fifty of stalemate on the status question, any well-intentioned proposal to move beyond the current impasse is welcome. Yet the road to hell is paved with good intentions and therefore good intentions are not enough; to move Puerto Rico forward it is necessary to have a firm grasp of what Puerto Ricans want and of the possibilities available to the island. In *Puerto Rican Jam*, Frances Negrón-Muntaner and Ramón Grosfoguel expose us to one approach to this question and one strategy.

The argument of this book is twofold: the Puerto Rican imaginary has been homogenized and therefore misrepresented by the discursive practices of nationalism; more important, Puerto Rico has resolved neither its colo-

nial dilemma nor its social and economic problems *because* nationalist discourse has promoted an anachronistic political project that has diverted attention from Puerto Rico's real problems – structural unemployment, racism, homophobia, and patriarchy, among others – and is unlikely to provide a solution for them.

To address Puerto Rico's situation vis-à-vis the United States, the editors propose a new conceptualization of Puerto Rican history and a new way of approaching the colonial question. In this conceptualization the homogenizing and hegemonic lens of nationalism is discarded in favor of a postmodern outlook that reveals important fissures of class, race, and gender. As a strategy to move the island beyond its present dilemma they propose a "mimicry of subversion" (p. 27) and the "feminization of Puerto Rican politics" (p. 28) in a context of "increased representation within the centers of power" (p. 32).

The notion of mimicry is similar to what sociologists call acculturation and Machiavelli called *fraude*: deliberate performance of a role without identification. Feminization entails the adoption of a seductive style, one that avoids confrontation and rational persuasion. These tactics, they claim, will allow Puerto Ricans to make the best of their disadvantage vis-à-vis the colonial power, especially since there is no current or foreseeable "outside" to colonialism and capitalism. No consideration is given, however, to the question of "the Other," in this case the representatives of the colonial power. Exactly what and whom will Puerto Ricans mimic and seduce? How will the choice be made? Should Puerto Ricans adopt a consistent posture against all members of the power establishment? Will Americans be flattered or disgusted by these tactics?

To the question of who will adopt this strategy and who will pursue its main objective, their answer is not clear. But because categorical subjects such as workers, racial groups, and women cannot possibly represent themselves *and others as well*, not even under the label of "Puerto Rican," it is clear who is disqualified. No one can claim to represent Puerto Ricans as a unitary entity, not even, it seems, in an ad hoc fashion. The alternative seems to be the adoption of a pluralistic cultural imaginary and the development of a progressive social movement. This implies that even a movement riddled by heterogeneity should be capable of achieving enough coherence to pursue a political agenda. But wouldn't this require the establishment of priorities? And if so, doesn't this mean that even a fragmentary identity must have some unitary components?

The latter question is particularly important given how strongly this book suggests that unitary representations are intrinsically arbitrary and false, that alterity is always conflictive and oppositional in a radical sense. In this view the development of a shared identity, a coherent society, and a

stable political system in Puerto Rico was basically the result of suppression and imposition from above, more often than not dictated by the colonial masters. Yet this begs the question of how colonial/colonized elites managed to accomplish all that without spilling a lot of blood. One possible answer is that the alleged impositions were actually interplays of mutually reinforcing visions and actions, as is suggested by the role of commercial interests in promoting Puerto Rican culture.

It is true that the kernel within the Puerto Rican shell has been an arena of multiple collisions: between capitalists and workers, men and women, nationalists, autonomists, statehooders, and supporters of independence. None of these categories, as the book rightly points out, is capable of delineating homogenous experiences. But it is a mistake to think that there are no differences among differences; in other words, it is improper to think that conflict invariably entails alternative projects, that heterogeneity is always a sign of irreconcilable identities or interests that cannot be grouped under one umbrella.

It is impossible to do justice in this short review to the many interesting, provocative, and insightful contributions contained in the thirteen essays in this collection. Suffice it to say that all are rigorous and many are eloquent, even poignant; some raise more questions than they answer and a few are undercut by undecipherable jargon and tortuous convolutions. Two critical concerns connect the chapters: the decolonization of Puerto Rico requires the transformation of existing political schemes, cultural practices, and modes of understanding. Furthermore, such process must entail more than formal self-determination. In fact, this book is noteworthy because it dares to suggest that compared to the goal of transcending the colonial legacy of racial, gender, sexual, and class exploitation, self-determination might not be that important after all.

Puerto Rican Women's History: New Perspectives. FÉLIX V. MATOS RODRÍGUEZ & LINDA C. DELGADO (eds.). Armonk NY: M.E. Sharpe, 1998. x + 262 pp. (Cloth US\$ 62.95, Paper US\$ 24.95)

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This is a welcome addition to the growing new historiography on the Caribbean focusing on social history from a Caribbean perspective. All of the articles deal with nineteenth- and twentieth-century Puerto Rico and cover such topics as women and work, prostitution, the suffrage movement, migration, and political empowerment from a gender perspective. All of the contributors are Puerto Rican (women and men) and with one exception, young historians resident both on the island and in the United States, where a new generation of Puerto Rican scholars is emerging.

The sources for the new historiography differ from traditional approaches, with greater emphasis on oral history and testimonial literature, but this collection falls short in giving us the voices of their historical subjects, particularly proletarian women. With the notable exception of Carmen Teresa Whalen's narratives of contemporary Puerto Rican women migrants to Philadelphia, the articles are confined to excerpts from letters and reports from authorities in government, politics, and the labor movement, which tends to emphasize the hegemonic discourse to the exclusion of counter-responses from the women themselves. These women may therefore be seen as passive subjects, even when this is not the authors' intent.

One of the most interesting themes emerging from several of the essays is the role modernization played in the colonial subordination of the Puerto Rican people, particularly women. The U.S. occupation of the island in 1898 propelled this modernization project, as part of its effort to "civilize" this impoverished colony of Spain, improve its underdeveloped economy, and reduce rampant poverty and high indices of illiteracy, unemployment, poor health, and malnutrition. The U.S. government enlisted the support of the Puerto Rican colonial government as well the Protestant church and civic associations such as the YMCA and the Women's Christian Temperance Union, in, for example, the early effort to eliminate prostitution in San Juan, as José Flores Ramos describes.

Puerto Rican bourgeois women collaborated in the modernization effort, in part because of their concern for general hygiene, safety, and well-being, but also because of their own class interests. This is amply documented in

the two excellent articles by María de Fátima Barceló-Miller and Gladys M. Jiménez-Muñoz on the differing goals of elite and working-class women's associations in the women's suffrage movement. Despite their alliance, elite women clearly used working-class women to further their own interests, initially limiting the vote to literate women, which also served to reinforce their supremacy over their uneducated sisters and their proximity to the colonizer. The extent to which race was used to mark these class divisions is not clear and needs further research. Marital patterns were also class differentiated, and U.S. efforts to reduce consensual unions may have served to further stigmatize low-income women (Findlay 1998).

Modernization transformed the Puerto Rican economy, resulting in profound changes in the gender composition of the labor force, as Juan José Baldrich shows in his analysis of the decline of male artisans in the Puerto Rican cigar-making industry in the early twentieth century. Male employment in the sugar industry declined with the initiation of the government sponsored industrialization program known as Operation Bootstrap in the late 1940s, which initially employed primarily women in the garment industry. Although, as Félix O. Muñoz-Mas indicates, the proponents of Bootstrap intended to uphold the notion of the male breadwinner, the program eventually established women as critical contributors to the Puerto Rican household economy (Safa 1995).

It is gratifying that more scholars have begun to tackle the notion of the male breadwinner and to analyze state policy from a gender perspective, but I am surprised that the idea of *casa/calle*, a Spanish concept brought to Puerto Rico and fundamental to gender differences, is not even mentioned in the entire collection. The assignment of women to the *casa*, or home, and men to the *calle*, or street, suggests that the public/private divide was even greater in the Hispanic Caribbean than in the United States, and reflected negatively upon women who worked outside the home (Safa 1995), as several of the contributors to this volume substantiate. But a full treatment of the development of the concept of the male breadwinner in the Caribbean and Latin America has yet to be written.

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Telling Their Stories: Puerto Rican Women and Abortion. JEAN P. PETERMAN. Boulder CO: Westview Press, 1996. ix + 112 pp. (Cloth US\$ 47.00)

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Nineteen ninety-eight marked the 25th anniversary of *Roe v. Wade*, the U.S. Supreme Court decision legalizing abortion. In the wake of controversies over welfare reform and reproductive rights, we still have a limited understanding of the ways by which Latinas in the United States, and Puerto Rican women in particular, use abortion to control their fertility and ultimately their lives. *Telling Their Stories* begins to address this void. Jean P. Peterman seeks to address a cultural contradiction within the community under study, "this high rate of abortion coupled with sexually conservative ethnic and religious traditions" (p. 1). She draws upon the personal narratives of Puerto Rican women living in Chicago to demonstrate how women reconcile contradictory cultural norms and values in the abortion decision-making process. By drawing upon the work of Laurel Richardson (1990), Peterman compares and contrasts cultural stories vs. collective stories or narratives to explain how women manage their fertility and resist male control. In her view, Puerto Rican women's cultural stories support the normative order. They focus upon virginity, family, motherhood, and male dominance. By contrast, the collective story contradicts this cultural story as women give voice to their lived experiences and develop new levels of consciousness that may or may not motivate them to work for social change.

Peterman begins by providing her own cultural narrative to inform readers about her scholarly and political activism. The ethnographic text that follows is an integral part of a broader commitment to feminist and abortion rights movements. Rather than concentrating on the experiences of white working and middle-class women, as she had done in an earlier study, she focuses on Puerto Rican poor and working-poor women, "a traditionally excluded group" (p. 7). While Puerto Rican women have been excluded in the social science literature on feminism and abortion rights, they have been the subject of numerous fertility and overpopulation studies. These

studies have fueled public policy initiatives and practices and they have curtailed women's reproductive rights (see Ramirez de Arellano & Seipp 1983). Peterman briefly addresses these issues in her introduction in order to focus specifically on the lives of twenty women.

Telling Their Stories is an important contribution to an emerging body of literature on the experiences of Puerto Ricans in urban enclaves in the mid-western United States. Chapter 2 reveals the varied and complex reasons why women have an abortion. These women must find ways to ensure their emotional and physical well-being. Several women for example, terminated their pregnancies in order to complete their high school education and/or pursue their post-secondary education. Each one understood how their limited education would impact not only her own well-being but also that of a child. Young women also considered the educational level, economic well-being, and maturity level of their partners and their family in the decision-making process. Making these assessments and decisions has always been emotionally taxing. Some women wished they had more time. Others knew upon reflection that they had made not only the right decision, but the best decision under the circumstances. Some women experienced emotional and physical abandonment once their partner became aware of the pregnancy. Some partners encouraged or coerced women to have abortions, while others sought to exercise greater control via the institution of marriage, a route that often resulted in marital dissolution in the long-term. In the midst of emotional turmoil, many of these women had to reconcile cultural expectations regarding appropriate sexual behavior, relationships, and gender roles as they sought to exercise their desire to grow as independent women.

Chapter 3 demonstrates that women positioned themselves within "a male dominated culture" in complex ways (p. 27). They made choices based on their subject position and on their assessment of their relationship with their partner. At this juncture Peterman reveals how cultural stories are reproduced and contested via collective narratives. But the differences between cultural stories and the collective stories were not always readily apparent.

The narratives contained in Chapters 4-6 demonstrate that despite revelatory moments and narratives, patriarchal values and norms were still embedded in collective stories. Cultural stories and collective stories were also imbued with idealized values and norms of Euro-American society that potentially render alternative values and practices as traditional or backward. Puerto Rican women must contend with these cultural myths and stories in their collective storytelling. Peterson needs to elaborate upon this by interpreting the stories even further. A resistance to the term "feminist," for example, exemplified the need to engage in multiple and nuanced readings

of the women's narratives. Some of the Puerto Rican women in this collection did not want to be identified with "white" feminism, and yet many lived out their lives as feminists. Others did not want to attribute male dominance exclusively to Puerto Rican males thereby resisting the Eurocentric Latino macho male myth. The narratives conveyed that many of these women understood how hierarchies based on gender, sex, race, and class are embedded in families and societies and enacted in everyday cultural practice. Peterman concludes by demonstrating that speaking out about abortion with others helped the Puerto Rican women in the study to redefine abortion, as well as their womanhood, more positively.

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The Story of the Jamaican People. PHILIP SHERLOCK & HAZEL BENNETT. Kingston: Ian Randle; Princeton: Markus Wiener, 1998. xii + 434 pp. (Cloth US\$ 48.95, Paper US\$ 19.95)

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The historiography of Jamaica has come a long way, from Fernando Henriques's *Jamaica, Land of Wood and Water* (1964), in which blacks are categorized with the plantation stock, to Sherlock and Bennett's *The Story of the Jamaican People* (1998), in which they are treated as being among the founders of civilization. Unlike other histories of the island published since emancipation (see, for example, Black 1965; Hurwitz & Hurwitz 1971; Gardner 1971), *The Story of the Jamaican People* is not in the typical genre of a colonial history; it is a history of a people.

Yet the book presents a picture of Jamaica that is both bleak and bright. It is written to inspire Jamaicans, but it also condemns the horrible plantation regime upon which the nation, indeed the region, was founded. The modern history of the region began with an error of navigation and was nurtured on greed, cruelty, and cultural arrogance. For blacks the outcome was, in the words of George Lamming, "a fractured consciousness" (p. 294). Jamaica's history began in a portentous unequalness, symbolically and actually represented in Cristobal Colón and his band of conquistadores trading worthless curios with the native Tainos for their finely crafted implements. The journey through the centuries brought this small isle to envision itself as a nation "fitted by its record of cultural achievement to contribute significantly to the unity and happiness of our [global] ship-mates" (p. 411). Situated ambiguously as it has been at the center of modern history but on the peripheries of international relations of power, Jamaica is still navigating its way through the contradictions conceived in the Colón-Taino trade.

The story pivots on the theme of the creation of a unified nation out of conflicting interests and understandings. Jamaica's flat lands permitted industrial-scale plantations, but the mountains have always embraced escapees. Control by a small number of absentee white plantation owners contributed to brutal neglect of the island, but the large numbers of black imported laborers facilitated generalized revolt. The maroons fought valiantly for their freedom, but later collaborated with planters against runaway slaves to maintain that freedom. Adjustment to servitude and post-plantation oppression has always kindled divisive violence in the very people known for their cooperative spirit and eternal warmth. For much of this history, Jamaica was, as the authors remark, not a nation but a name; no one called Jamaica home (p. 156). The contradictions germinated the dialectical seed of nationhood, however – a process of self-formation born in the tumultuous days of urban proletarian protest of the 1930s and coming of age in the nationalist decolonization struggles of the 1950s and 1960s.

The very first line of the book's introduction establishes its tone: "In this book the authors tell the story of the Jamaican from an African-Jamaican, not a European, point of view" (p. xi). They then quickly go on to argue that "the Jamaican people have never accepted what was presented to them as the history of Jamaica. The heroes of the British Empire are not their heroes. Their battlefields are in African-America, in Palmares ... in Accompong" (p. xi). This sets the stage for grounding the story in Africa – "the homeland." But this grounding is less strictly historiographic than vaguely cosmological, what locals might call a "navel string" grounding.

The titles of the first three chapters – "Honour the Ancestors," "On Claiming our Great Heritage," and "Africa, the Original Homeland" – are

not only accurately descriptive of content, but intended to be evocative of a rebellion in historical consciousness. The authors tell us that this history begins with a tribute of loving respect for the Jamaican and West Indian people, and quote George Lamming on his desire to bring "this world of men and women from down below to a proper order of attention" (p. 1). But lest the reader begin to think this work is blind to non-African Jamaica, they immediately move to recognize the coming of the Jews as early as the sixteenth century, and later the Indians, Chinese, Lebanese, and Syrians. And the three historical icons venerated for their inspiration in nation building are George Washington, Simón Bolívar, and Toussaint L'Ouverture.

Chapter 4 begins the conceptual task of replacing the "colonial model" of Jamaican history and society with a "world perspective," and Chapter 5, less than eight pages, begins the empirical grounding of this world perspective with a consideration of the indigenous peoples of the region. The story then shifts to the coming of those entities, Spain and Britain, whose single-minded attention to gain would necessarily distort and obscure the story of those whose labor produced that gain. Ultimately, the heritage that is claimed is the heritage of slave rebellions, maroon wars, and postslavery struggles for freedom under leaders from Paul Bogle to Bob Marley. But it is also the heritage of "freedom and justice to be found in English history" and encoded in the Magna Carta.

The story soon turns from attention to heritage, honor, and homeland to consideration of colonial creation. The authors self-consciously place their narrative firmly in a global perspective, wider than the colonial world which has so typically framed our historical thinking. Branding this the "long view of African and human history" (p. 33), they begin with the hunting and gathering peoples of the early period and move on to the settled centers of "civilization" such as Egypt, Mesopotamia, India, and China. The intent is to eschew what they appropriately see as the "fracturing influences of imperial Europe," and to engender instead a sense of the essential unity of humanity. Buried in this schema is an all too simplified, even distorting, unilinear evolution.

The heart of the book – Chapters 6 through 29 – retells the story of conquest, settlement, the emergence of a profoundly divided society, the birth of nationalist consciousness in the late 1930s to 1940s, and the beginning of economic development thinking in the 1950s to 1960s. The final chapter, "Culture and Nationhood," pulls together a wide spectrum of events and individual accomplishments pertaining to art, politics, and performance, in order to underscore that nation-building is as much culture-building as institution-building. Above all, the story of nation-building is about how African Jamaicans rejected the plantation and post-plantation systems and, at the

same time, adjusted with ferocity, ingenuity, long suffering, and humor. To use a Jamaican saying, they are able to *tek' bad somt'ing mek' laugh*.

Where the book soars is not in recounting the major wars and rebellions (about which much has already been written – for example, Hart 1985; Holt 1992), but in the telling of the human side of the struggle, the everyday creativity of the folk in overcoming adversity. Here the authors show deep knowledge and sensitive appreciation of local culture, drawing heavily, as no Jamaican historian before them has done, on popular expressive idioms. The technique brings to mind E. P. Thompson's *The Making of the English Working Class* – not so much for its grand theoretical intent and fine-grained ethnohistorical research, but with the same common-people-as-historical-agents effect. In that vein, the struggle of Jamaican plantation and post-plantation workers is put in the broader historical context of the development of the English working class in response to the demands of the Industrial Revolution.

The book's significance lies less in the impressive synthesis it achieves than in the modality of its interpretation: the African-Jamaican perspective. Two discursive vehicles used to enable this perspective deserve critical comment: the emphasis on liberation of consciousness, and the wide use of local sociocultural material. The authors raise the question: "Why do Jamaicans avert their eyes from their history, when in all countries the teaching of history is an opportunity to build up a basic nationalism and patriotism in the mind of a child" (p. 8). They answer this question by presenting a history which seems intended less to provide academic historians with a paradigmatic shift – though it may serve that purpose – than to provide an intellectual *balm yard*, a rallying point for revitalizing national consciousness. It is, in a phrase, a transparently nationalist history.

By contextualizing the Jamaican story as part of the "long view of African and human history," we get a sense of Jamaicans not as mere survivors of European avarice and arrogance, but as mindful historical agents. Thus, we are treated to a humanist interweaving of ideas and activities from abolitionists William Wilberforce and Granville Sharp to black Baptist missionaries George Lisle and Moses Baker; from nineteenth-century Jamaican activist George William Cordon to ex-slave Paul Bogle; and from nativist religious leader Bedward to today's Rastafarian activists. Politics and religion are treated as unified. The effect of Voltaire's play, *Saul*, and Rousseau's *Social Contract*, are viewed alongside the declaration of a local hymn, "Since Christ Has Made Us Free," in their synthesized effect on local and regional liberatory history.

But the Jamaican perspective is still, above all, an Afrocentric one. Sherlock and Bennett move beyond the decades-old debate about African cultural survivals in the Americas to consideration of Africa in its own right

as a key player. Anthropologists and other ethnohistorically-leaning scholars may find some lack here. Colonially-imposed categorizations such as "tribe," and racial taxonomic terms such as "mongoloid," "negroid," and "Bushmanoid" are used uncritically (p. 20). And we are told, without mention of regional and cultural variations, that by 1000 A.D., peoples of black Africa were living in settled communities and were becoming politically organized (p. 22). One cannot fail to notice the intransigence of the epistemological legacy encoded in the categories the authors have inherited and continue to deploy.

Thus, applying the concepts of "relevance" and "continuity," Sherlock and Bennett weave threads of historical unity/continuity in the African heritage and its place in the "long view of humanity" by discussing three ancient leaders: Sargon, king of the city of Kish; Abraham, the father of the Jewish people; and Moses, who led the Jews out of bondage. These leaders are made representative of three transformations in the evolution of civilization relevant to the Jamaican experience: the development of urban centers, the institutionalization of monotheism, and the liberation of the Hebrews leading to the arrival of the Bible in Jamaica. But there is an apparently unintended subtext here. Sargon was a ruthless empire builder, and Abraham and Moses were representative of the rise and spread of monotheism. The subtext amounts to a statement of unity in human achievement predicated on "bringers of civilization." There is no recognition of cultural relativism in evolution; the concepts of *achievement* and *civilization* which inform this rendition are necessarily tainted by Eurocentric understandings: *civilization* is marked by an implied virtue in sedentariness, in "complex" sociopolitical organization, in monotheism, in large-scale architecture, and so on. Yet, the question of what constitutes the embodiment of virtue in human evolution – in a universal sense, if there is such – is not yet a settled one.

The second expression of the African-Jamaican perspective may be seen in the emphasis on indigenous political, aesthetic, economic, and general cultural creations. Despite the authors' rich, uplifting list of individual and collective achievements, their rendition of political progress and economic development (Chapter 29), for example, accepts uncritically the long discredited clientelist political practices of the 1940s to the 1960s. And in broader terms, they also turn a blind eye to the ecologically and socially destructive Euro-American growth model of development. After decades of use, not only has this model failed to effectively address pernicious economic injustice, but it deepens its hold on the society by fostering a consciousness that is increasingly shaped by individualism and consumerism. The book therefore misses an opportunity to rekindle the critical discourse about social development eclipsed by the assertion of supply-side *laissez faire* ideas in the 1980s.

Quibbles aside, this book's inspiring and accessible telling of Jamaican history is a significant contribution to the emergent thinking that challenges the categories of thought and knowledge bequeathed under the twin yoke of greed and cultural arrogance. The real beneficiaries of this bold intellectual labor of love and respect for a people will be secondary and postsecondary students, who will find in it a history that speaks not just to their intellect but to their spirit as well.

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If the Irish Ran the World: Montserrat, 1630-1730. DONALD HARMAN AKENSON. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1997. xii + 273 pp. (Cloth £29.95)

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If the Irish Ran the World is the most authentic account of any aspect of Montserrat's history to have appeared in print and the author has critiqued nearly all such accounts which is a valuable by-product of his book. This is not just a unique case study of a Caribbean farming colony but an insightful study of a particular ethnic subgroup of European fortune seekers in the

Caribbean sun. It is first and foremost a history of Montserrat, but it is also an intriguing illumination of plantation ways and colonizing behaviors in these Caribbean outposts.

The strength of Akenson's work lies in his refusal to accept historical generalizations and entrenched "verities" if they are not evidenced, and his ability to unearth exciting revelations adducing reference and inference in support. As a result he has pushed back rich frontiers in Montserratian and Caribbean history of sugar and slavery. Let me illustrate my own generalizations. The Irish of Montserrat are not just Irish, or even just Catholics and Protestants, but "native Irish," "Old English," and "New English," and to treat them as homogeneous is to miss critical nuances of behavior and relationships which have shaped the history of the island including "the bent and beastly personalities behind society's formal institutions" (p. 59).

One of the central truths of the so-called sugar revolution of the seventeenth-century Caribbean is the radical demographic change whereby the black population increased and the whites decreased as indentured servants who couldn't capitalize sugar latifundia emigrated (Parry & Sherlock 1956). In Montserrat, the transition to a sugar monoculture took a longer time (1680-1730), allowing opportunities for the small farmer. This lag hinted at by this writer (Fergus 1975), but made explicit by Akenson (pp. 65-66) with logical argument is an important contribution to Caribbean historiography. In Montserrat the reduction in the white population was not an artefact of the large farm replacing the small one as Eric Williams, for instance, argues (1970). It was due rather to military and natural disasters and political factors with a religious overlay. On a related matter, Akenson has shown that Montserrat was late into the big sugar field and made an early exit – another suggestion that any rigorous exploration of history must question facile generalizations.

This book is about the Irish ruling the world and part of its fascination lies in its explosion of multiple myths and their replacement by rigorous analysis of available data. Religion and rulership have to be of interest in a book on the Irish and Akenson addresses these themes. Some of us have glibly written of Montserrat as an asylum for Irish Catholics. Maybe it was, but it is Akenson who painstakingly argues that it was not a religious colony. There was no resident Catholic priest before 1756, there was probably no Catholic church building before 1852, and there is no evidence that Montserrat was a pastoral priority for the Catholic authorities. Besides it was not always politically and economically prudent to call oneself a Catholic; economic and political interest took precedence over religious piety and practice.

And what of the tradition of a kinder, gentler Irish slaveholder who empathized with the oppressed because of his own experience in the cru-

cible of persecution? It is but a myth, says Akenson, who is not about to tickle any fancies about the Irish diaspora by compromising the data. Montserratian blacks were just as much dehumanized by the Irish as they would have been in any British colony, he convincingly contends. For why, then, did the slaves mainly plan an insurrection to overthrow slave owners who were mostly Catholic Irish on St. Patrick's Day 1768?

The very issue of religious persecution which is central to a colony generated by religious intolerance has to be explored with caution à la Akenson. Governor Roger Osborne though a Protestant was too venal and practical a man to allow religion to destabilize his colony. He turned a blind eye at visiting Catholic priests provided they kept a low profile. To quote one of Akenson's many pithy formulations: "The Roman Catholic church was inhibited by the authorities but not seriously prohibited" (pp. 154-55).

The permanent legacies of the Irish in Montserrat are presumably important for determining what life would be like if the Irish ran the world. In addressing this Akenson identifies two traditions – the "Hibernicist," which he associates with American anthropologist John Messenger, and an "Africanist," associated with this writer and others obliquely accused by Messenger of "verging in some cases on counter-racism" (1994:16). He attributes a significant Irish legacy to Montserrat including oral art, dance, styles, music, cuisine, motor pattern, language codes of etiquette, and hospitality. Akenson has shown that much of this is fancy and conjecture rather than fact, but the Hibernicist tradition is nevertheless useful to entrepreneurs in search of tourist dollars.

Similarly he correctly points to inventions in the Africanist tradition and denies certain claims of African retentions made by local historians. What cannot be gainsaid is that ethnically the island is almost totally African and further investigation could well reveal that Africa in Montserrat is much more than skin deep.

In weighing up both traditions, Akenson demonstrates both scholarly balance and generosity allowing some value for invented traditions. But his own approach leaves no doubt about the value of objective search for historical truth. Perhaps he needs to be wary though of those who think that blacks who affirm their blackness are necessarily racist. But the book is not just about Montserrat. It is about the Irish and it is Akenson's inevitable conclusion that they were not essentially different from other Western Europeans in plantation leadership style.

This is an excellent book, not just for its revelations but for its methodology and strenuous interpretation of details. It is very readable, with lines sometimes verging on the poetic without being distracting. Messenger's vision crashes like "an overloaded cargo airplane on a remote island mountain top" (p. 180). Perhaps, *If the Irish Ran the World* is in its totality a sem-

inal work which should take its place with other classic monographs in Caribbean history.

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The Political Ecology of Bananas: Contract Farming, Peasants, and Agrarian Change in the Eastern Caribbean. LAWRENCE S. GROSSMAN. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998. xx + 268 pp. (Cloth US\$ 49.95, Paper US\$ 19.95)

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As Caribbean nations wrestle with the difficulties of finding their niche in the global village and attempt to come to terms with the economic implications of the World Trade Organization (WTO), the publication of this book is as timely as it is significant to the region's contemporary literature. Its intellectual appeal should be broad, with social scientists, historians, and agriculturists finding much to interest them in this thoroughly researched and well-documented volume.

Larry Grossman writes with a deep conviction garnered principally from a year spent in a banana-growing community, given the pseudonym of Restin Hill, in St. Vincent during 1988-89. Subsequently, he returned at regular intervals to observe the fluctuating fortunes of banana producers as they coped with the vagaries of rainfall and other local hazards, as well as the exogenously imposed policies pertaining to changing cultivation prac-

tices and methods of packing aimed at enhancing the quality of exported bananas. Since 1992 there has been growing uncertainty as to whether the Windward Islands' producers could maintain their favored trading status for bananas in the United Kingdom, as regulations were liberalized initially through the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, and now the WTO. Such uncertainty has demoralized St. Vincent's banana producers, who realize they cannot compete against multinational producers in Latin America. Thus life for the residents of Restin Hill promises to be anything but restful in the immediate future.

In the preface to this study, Grossman provides a comprehensive literature review of political ecology and contract farming. An articulate case is made for applying the political ecology approach to his study. By amalgamating components of human ecology, which has traditionally focused upon relationships between people and their environment, with those of political economy, with its concern for appreciating the nature and relevance of inequities in a society's wealth and power, political ecology has a spectrum broad enough to study the gamut of factors from the WTO and the state (the United Kingdom and Vincentian governments) down to individual banana producers.

As the framework of political ecology incorporates a historical perspective, Chapter 1 surveys the century-long relationship between the West Indian banana industry and the United Kingdom. Attention is given to the Windward Islands and problems confronting their producers since the creation within the European Union of the Single European Market, whereby preferential regulations and tariffs are to be removed for small developing countries exporting bananas, such as St. Vincent.

Subsequent chapters proceed deductively: first by examining the Windward Island banana industry and its contract farming scheme; then by detailing the development of peasant agriculture in St. Vincent which traditionally produced food crops, but since the 1950s increasingly emphasized banana cultivation; and, finally, by providing insights of village life in Restin Hill, a representative banana-producing community in St. Vincent. At timely intervals in these chapters, Grossman underscores the merits of employing the political ecology approach. When describing the character of the village and its residents, particular attention is given to the issues of gender, age, the nature of wage labor, patterns of land tenure, variations in farm size and fragmentation, the characteristics of land use as they pertain to bananas, and the tending of livestock. It is surprising that Grossman as an anthropologist does not give more information about the social and cultural attributes of these residents in order to provide a better understanding of their attitudes to farming. For example, no reference is made to religious affiliation or farmer's age as they directly influence attitudes to farming.

Such considerations might have implications for the three remaining themes in this book, which deal with the questions of labor, food, and the environment. In these chapters, thought provoking discussions are made of: the dilemma confronted by banana-producing contract farmers who, being at the mercy of capital and state, have no likelihood of sustaining their market in the EU given WTO policies; the growing dependency of St. Vincent upon imported food, which given WTO regulations is attractively priced vis-à-vis local fruit, vegetables, and livestock products; and the implications that agrochemical use has upon environmental degradation and what Grossman calls the “environmental rootedness” of agriculture – their application being required to improve the quality and quantity of banana production.

With this book being the first intensive application of the political ecology framework to investigate small-scale agriculture in the Caribbean, it is an important publication – one effectively amplifying ideas propounded by Grossman’s noteworthy 1993 AAAG article. This carefully crafted piece of scholarship should provide much “grist for the mill” of intellectual debate concerning future policies for developing the region’s agricultural sector. For those to whom political ecology holds a special appeal, then, it may serve as a useful paradigm.

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GROSSMAN, LAWRENCE S., 1993. The Political Ecology of Banana Export and Local Food Production in St. Vincent, Eastern Caribbean. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 83:347-67.

Common Law and Colonised Peoples: Studies in Trinidad and Western Australia. JEANNINE M. PURDY. Aldershot, UK: Ashgate Dartmouth, 1997. xii + 309. (Cloth £ 39.50)

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In the preface to *Common Law and Colonised Peoples*, Jeannine Purdy writes: "This study is an attempt to understand my own, very cruel, culture" (p. ix). The sentence grips you. As it turns out, this is the first of several provocative statements in a book that covers a wide range of issues in law and society research. Purdy gives voice to ordinary men and women whose authority rests on the experiences of their lives (which often includes their time in prison), demonstrates the resonance between Marxism and subordinated peoples' understanding of law, diagnoses how law is "actively constitutive of ethnic and racial inequality" (p. 4), and contends with the thorny issues of the meaning of postcolonialism and cultural autonomy, as well as the relationship between theoretical knowledge and political activism. Even so, the provocative statement that begins the book alerts us to its central problem: Purdy assumes that there is a singular British colonial legal culture which allows for a comparison between the disparate peoples and societies of Trinidad and Western Australia.

Purdy is an Australian lawyer with extensive previous experience in the legal affairs of indigenous Australians. Having gone to Trinidad to "see how legal systems which were derived from the common law operated in different social contexts" (p. 5), she investigated how people who were once subjected to colonial oppression fare as subjects of a now-independent judicial administration, albeit one that retains much of the content and structures of its colonial past. She interviewed former prisoners and various officials, analyzed newspapers, legal, and prison records, and sat in magistrate's courts over a period of several months in an effort to determine which Trinidadians are most likely to come before the courts and, of these, which are most likely to be imprisoned. Her findings confirm the continuing importance of a Marxist theoretical framework; peoples' conscious and unconscious attitudes of class and racial prejudice penetrate legal processes. She concludes that the people who are picked up by the police and the people who go to prison tend to be those who are phenotypically "blacker," whether of African or East Indian descent (p. 113). (To accept the argument that phenotype influences incarceration rates, however, one must rely on

Purdy's "objectivity" in reporting phenotypes, rather than on the self-reported "color" of those she observed in court.)

There is similar racial discrimination in Western Australia, although the central players in this story are indigenous Australians who are oppressed by white Australians. As in Trinidad, prisoners in the contemporary courts in Western Australia are dark-skinned and charged with petty offenses. In her exegesis on the Australian system, Purdy traces the history of the exploitation of indigenous people at the hands of whites who first dispossessed them of their lands, placing them on reservations, missions, and settlements, and later attempted various schemes of "assimilation." Indigenous Australians were legally abused in a variety of ways over time: they were subjected to special laws which did not apply to other Australians, paid less than other workers, deprived of their own children, ignored in their attempts to claim land, and subjected to police harassment and outright physical abuse.

Students of Caribbean law will welcome Purdy's contribution to our understanding of how law functions in lower courts in Trinidad, her astute discussion of the creation of social distance between court personnel and defendants (p. 118-20), and her analysis of crime and prison statistics, not to mention her intriguing and sometimes painfully candid account of the trials and tribulations of trying to do fieldwork when people resist the fieldworker's hypotheses about whether issues of race and class permeate the legal process. Similarly, legal scholars and sociologists of law will find in this text well-documented case studies of the legal abuse of indigenous Australians and of their struggle to resist those abuses. In discussing the plight of indigenous Australians, Purdy draws upon her own experiences as a member of the Royal Commission inquiry into the death of John Pat, a sixteen-year-old boy who died in custody after a brawl with an off-duty police officer (p. 88).

Although I found much to hold my attention in *Common Law and Colonised Peoples*, Purdy did not convince me that there is one cruel culture responsible for both the fate of poor and dark-skinned Trinidadians and the treatment of the indigenous peoples of Western Australia. Nor was I convinced that the legal relations that created the "criminal other" as a category, or even the category itself, are comparable in these two places. The historical and anthropological record suggests instead that lawmakers and law enforcers are cruel to men and women in different ways in different times and places, and for different social, political, and economic purposes. It follows that the practical consequences and symbolic content of law and legal processes bear different historical and legal meaning across time and cultures.

Defining Jamaican Fiction: Marronage and the Discourse of Survival. BARBARA LALLA. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1996. xi + 224 pp. (Paper US\$ 29.95)

Caribbean Transactions: West Indian Culture in Literature. RENU JUNEJA. London: Macmillan Caribbean, 1996. xi + 240 pp. (Paper £14.95)

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I found it a pleasure to review these books; one I enjoyed at length. (This journal's establishment of the brilliantly motivating "Hall of Shame" for dilatory reviewers has, at least for this reader, given whole new meaning to the scholarly imperative: "publish or perish"!) Barbara Lalla's *Defining Jamaican Fiction* traces a literary history that moves from the "Outside In" of European Romanticism in West Indian space to the "Inside Out" of a literature at home in the "rock-bound interior" (p. 201) of marronage as hiding place and vantage point, while Renu Juneja's *Caribbean Transactions* is framed by the author's own readerly travel from University of Delhi anglocentrism, through Renaissance drama studies in the United States, to "a different brand of literature, one that speaks ... resonantly to her own life" and that makes the Caribbean itself "an inviting home" (p. ix). These are passionate monographs – scholarly, precise, and committed – and each of them seeks a critical route into West Indian writing that avoids the well-traveled highways of mainstream literary criticism.

For Lalla, that route is the topos of marronage. The figure of the Jamaican Maroon stands at the center of her definitional gambit, and her monograph argues that in one or another of its figural redactions – the unas-similable Caliban, the defiant isolationist, the alienated outsider, the Anancy traveler – the theme of marronage comprises an organizing principle for the multiple literary representations of Jamaican ways of being. Such a gambit, needless to say, places the monograph in danger of becoming yet another "theme x in field y" literary study – a mode of analysis that almost always results in the triumphant reduction of multiple forms of cultural difference within the space of the nation, to the participatory unity of a single, and essentialized, principle for social identification and inclusion. But Lalla is in fact less concerned with locating Maroon characters and

marronage themes in literature than with developing the concept of marronage as a methodology for analyzing a pervasive “sense of distance” (p. 1) in the fiction, one inextricably tied to the social functioning of that fiction as a literature of resistance.

And so, although the book does devote a great deal of its attention to the cataloguing of “various personae who are in some way off-center and separate from ‘civilized’ community: ... the stranger, the vagrant, the bumpkin, the trickster, the savage, the rebel, the lunatic, the zombie, the reject, and the outcast” (p. 19), its most interesting manoeuvre lies in its thesis that marronage *as perspective* offers Jamaican literary criticism a methodology for indigenizing critical practice. The manoeuvre permits the yoking together of documents that would not normally plough in the same fields: fictional works written by Europeans and “associated with Jamaica,” on the one hand, and fictional works written by Jamaicans, and characterized by their deep familiarity with Jamaican resonances in language and style, on the other. It also permits Lalla to focus closely on language-use in the texts as a way of registering distance; and it is here – in the sustained analysis of tense- and code-switching in Jamaican writing, in the careful explication of how semantic fields in literature organize the making of fictional worlds, in the rigorous examination of how representations of linguistic crisis structurally confront cognitive presuppositions about culture, gender, race, age, history, continuance, and survival – that *Defining Jamaican Fiction* makes its defining critical contribution.

Lalla’s work is at its best in its deployment of feminist linguistics to the tracking of “perceptual and conceptual orientation” in Jamaican fiction, and it is marked by strong literary historical scholarship. Her archival digging is impressive, and her discussion of Cyrus Perkins’s “generally unknown” document “Busha’s Mistress; or, Catherine the Fugitive,” written in 1855 but published in 1911 in the *Daily Telegraph and Guardian*, in itself comprises an eloquent argument for why it is that Perkins’s story, “the earliest text to have been written by a local author” (p. 36), simply *must* be republished. The most prominent weakness in Lalla’s careful argument is its sustained reliance on the unexamined assumption that an indigenizing critical manoeuvre – in this case, the reading of Jamaican literature through marronage dialectics – must necessarily be a decolonizing one. A critical practice that seeks a single and unifying definition of national character – and this would include a critical practice that seeks to ground that nation to a unifying thematics of resistance – must at some level support the cultural work of those modalities of cultural taxonomics that proved so useful to the imperial project of knowing the Other, even when that practice goes radically in the direction of insider knowledge.

Like Lalla, Renu Juneja seeks a critical route into West Indian writing through an elaboration of something residual in the literature itself, and not through something mapped out by the soiled hand of Eurocentric literary theory. But where Lalla's commitment is to a specific figural dialectic as a prism for cultural reading, Juneja's commitment in *Caribbean Transactions* is to a macro-narrative, and she arranges the chapters in her book so that a Caribbean story about "a process of self-definition" (p. 22) gets retold through a sequenced arrangement of close textual readings. Juneja is refreshingly honest about the fact that her readings are positioned as outsider looking in, and she begins her discussion with a useful meditation on how one is to listen to "the texts themselves" (p. 2) in the fashioning of a theoretical methodology. For Juneja, that listening leads to the belief, widely underscored by the kind of Commonwealth literary criticism that prevailed in the 1970s, that postcolonial "self-definition" takes place through a series of "stages" in the writing, as though a regional or national literature were a human being growing up, struggling with authority, and at last coming into possession of its full adulthood. Juneja's innovation on this critical model, however, is to predicate it on texts written variously within the last thirty years rather than on a chronological sequence of texts published over a long period in Caribbean writing. It is as though the story of self-fashioning is taking place all at once in recent literature, and can be told at any time in the Caribbean transactional archive.

The structure of *Caribbean Transactions* is therefore its argument, and it looks like this. An opening chapter on Caribbean women's *Bildungsroman* by Merle Hodge and Jamaica Kincaid examines how "the leaving of childhood and of country ... is metonymic of a cultural stage where the dislocation is overcome through a controlled inner schism which allows for the possibility of a return" (p. 15). This stage of childhood dislocation opens the way to a chapter on the "backward glance" in Paule Marshall and George Lamming, where "the personal crisis of the protagonists becomes a synecdoche for a cultural crisis" and where "folk culture is valorized as the resource for psychological and cultural re-formation" (p. 51). This is followed by the cultural reconstruction stage, narrativized by Earl Lovelace. And this by a two-part stage, fictionalized by Dennis Scott and Ismith Khan, the first involving cultural resistance embodied in restored practices, the second involving cultural resistance enacted by fully conscious human agents. This resistance stage gives way to the "self-creation through writing" stage, which Juneja elaborates in two chapters on V.S. Naipaul. The process completes itself when "cultural contradictions, intertextuality, hybridity, transforming mimicry, struggle with history, validation of folk culture, the backward glance that looks forward, self-conscious engagement with the role of the artist – all these come together in Walcott's *Omeros*" (p. 16).

In large part, the value of this kind of critical manoeuvre lies in its genuine commitment to putting the logics of the local first. Juneja joins forces with “the growing body of scholars who believe that the creative writers of the Caribbean have been at the vanguard of the discourse about colonialism” (p. 2), and her monograph accordingly passes on to its readers what Juneja believes the creative texts of those writers have collectively told to her. This commitment to faithful listening permits some very strong close readings of individual texts, and – especially in the chapters on Naipaul – a willingness to engage with the words on the page themselves rather than with the social text of the writer as it appears in the established critical register. But for me, at least, it also raises some basic questions about Juneja’s critical project itself. What does it mean, for example, to assert this specific grouping of fictional themes and arguments as a set of stages, and then to ground those stages to texts that are written more or less coterminously? Wouldn’t the logic of the publication dates alone imply that these are not stages in a historically sequenced process of self-definition but creative representations of cultural activities that necessarily take place together? Wouldn’t this also imply that earlier literary works carry much the same capacity for resistance and self-definition as more recent works, and that the “stage” of, say, political resistance in a literature can never give over to “the process of self-creation envisaged through the trope of writing” (p. 168)?

Juneja’s text begins its sequence of critical close readings by invoking as a “fitting muse” for what follows the figure of Celia, a “very young female slave” who was executed in Missouri in 1855 for the so-called “murder” of the “sixty-year-old white master who had bought her five years earlier as a sexual replacement for his wife” (p. 21). There can be no question that just about every critical shibboleth, Caribbean or otherwise, remains urgently in need of foundational feminist interrogation and revision, and in this invocation Juneja’s text joins hands with Lalla’s in gesturing to a pathway that Caribbean critical practice must continue to follow if it is to advance the project of methodological decolonization. But macro-narratives, whatever their claims to faithfulness, have a disturbing habit of telling stories with resonances other than those we intended: in this, they are in the world in the same way that fictions are, and that world comprises not only multiple histories and practices of oppression but also multiple methods for reading those practices, and multiple modalities for imagining social change. Juneja, in my view, is a little too hasty to foreclose on the theoretical possibilities opened by theorists such as Michel Foucault, Homi Bhabha, and Gayatri Spivak (a typographical “he” on p. 13), simply because they write from elsewhere. Their work might have called into question what it means to advance a macro-narrative of emerging Caribbean self-definition in quite this progressivist and positivist a fashion, in light of the violent universalizing of

such a story through the Enlightenment and imperial project. And though Celia is indeed a “fitting muse” for the work of Caribbean critical practice now, she presides a little uneasily over a critical narrative that charts a process of emerging self-definition which begins with women’s stories of women’s childhood but then stages its way towards triumphant arrival through a chain of fictional narratives written entirely by men.

Caribbean Passages: A Critical Perspective on New Fiction from the West Indies. RICHARD F. PATTESON. Boulder CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1998. ix + 187 pp. (Cloth US\$ 38.00)

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The purpose of this book is to examine the fiction of five authors from the third wave of Anglo-Caribbean writing. As defined by Patteson, the first wave, which included Claude McKay, Jean Rhys, and Seepersad Naipaul, reached its peak before World War II; the second (the “golden age”), represented by V.S. Naipaul, George Lamming, Samuel Selvon, Earl Lovelace, John Hearne, Michael Anthony, and Wilson Harris, arose after the war during the independence movement; and the third “belongs to their successors – a large and swelling contingent of younger, postindependence writers . . . whose novels and stories have been appearing since the early 1970s” (p. 3). All five authors – two women and three men – reveal “an intense commitment to an imaginative repossession of Caribbean life and consciousness” (p. 3). Otherwise, “they are a variegated group – ethnically, geographically, and experientially” (p. 3): Olive Senior of Jamaica, Zee Edgell of Belize, Shiva Naipaul of Trinidad, Caryl Phillips of England with ties to St. Kitts, and Roberto Antoni of the Bahamas with ties to Trinidad. The Naipauls – the father, Seepersad; the older son, V.S.; and the younger son, Shiva – illustrate the three waves within one family.

Undoubtedly, other critics would have settled on a somewhat different five-author list and still achieved “the diversity of . . . backgrounds, perspectives, and artistic strategies” (p. 3) that Patteson strove for in his selection. But regarding “the excellence of their work and the relative lack of critical attention paid to it” (p. 3) he has chosen well. The value of this volume, however, may lie in its commitment to art over ideology. Including Shiva Naipaul, who, Patteson says, has been “openly reviled by some Carib-

bean critics on grounds more political than aesthetic" (p. 5), this critic says he is following in the footsteps of Antonio Benítez-Rojo, Édouard Glissant, and Wilson Harris, whose poetics are "nonauthoritarian, scattered, centerless" (p. 5), his aim being "not to plant the imperialist flag of an ideology, a political agenda, or even a preconceived, unitary thesis" on the worlds created by his authors, but instead "to explore each writer's territory in turn, looking for both marks of originality and signs of kinship to others in the region" (p. 5). Toward the end of his study Patteson pays homage to "the Caribbean's preeminent literary critic" (p. 146) – Kenneth Ramchand – who, he says, "deplored drawing ... exclusionary lines [about literary works] based solely upon nonartistic considerations" (p. 146). Whether one agrees that Patteson's models are non-ideological or that Ramchand deserves this praise more than any other critic, in eschewing ideology as a standard for judgment of a work of art Patteson is to be commended for trying to shift the discourse away from condemnation of a story for an ideology that is not there to appreciation of it for the art that is there.

What concerns Patteson most is the act of storytelling – in the case of his five authors, the actual writing down of their stories as evidence of their world, both past and future. He quotes Edward Said's comment (1993: xii) that "stories are at the heart of what explorers and novelists say about strange regions of the world," that they are "the method colonized people use to assert their own identity and the existence of their history" (p. 2). The storyteller makes what he or she says true and thereby contributes to the creation of the world described. The same impulse is evidenced in many of the characters of these authors' stories, who feel compelled, orally if not in writing, to imagine a world of their own making and thereby transform this one, creating out of their imaginations and the history they have inherited new myths expressing their new power. Thus, in Senior's "Lily, Lily," the elder Lily's letter reveals "the power of discourse to alter reality" (p. 43), Patteson noting that Senior herself "has called 'knowledge as embodied in the word ... a key to personal affirmation and power'" (p. 45). Similarly, in Senior's "The Chocho Vine," Ishmael writes down what has happened in order to affect what will happen, and in "Ballad," the school-girl Lenora composes a ballad, rather than the assigned essay, that tells the story of the disreputable Miss Rita; in Edgell's *Beka Lamb*, Lilla gives Beka, her daughter, a notebook in which she can write her "lies," knowing it will implement the transfer of knowledge from one generation to the next; in Shiva Naipaul's *Fireflies*, the glow from fireflies enables a boy "to read, illuminating the texts that will prepare him for life in a world from which fireflies have vanished" (p. 98) and, in his *The Chip-Chip Gatherers*, Sita halts the disintegration of her identity through the power that writing in a diary brings her; in Phillips's *Cambridge*, both Emily, the Englishwoman

who comes out to the island, and Cambridge, the slave on the island, keep journals that together reveal the shift of power through the written word; and in Antoni's *Divina Trace*, ninety-year-old Johnny Domingo constructs out of the fragments of the many stories he has heard over his long life the myth of his own Caribbean identity.

The role of the writer in creating the destiny of a people out of their past is, in fact, a pervasive theme in West Indian literature, as, for example, G. in George Lamming's *In the Castle of My Skin* and both Biswas and his son in V.S. Naipaul's *A House for Mr Biswas* affirm. Moreover, this theme interconnects with the other major themes of West Indian fiction: the dislocation and disintegration of cultures; the conflict between the society of the colonizer and the societies of the colonized and among these colonized societies, as well as between the traditional and the modern; the multifaceted and syncretic nature of the society that emerges out of these conflicts; the importance of literacy and education in its creation; the pivotal role of the mother in the transformation of the old to the new, the past to the future; the parallel between the maturation of a society and the growing pains of the young, a metaphor for this process; and most significant, the creation of a creole world, a new myth, out of the stories of history, with new languages to describe it – in all, the inescapable obsession with identity in West Indian individuals and societies, authors, and characters. Patteson examines the fiction of his chosen authors for all of these themes and more.

The evolution of this identity, the process of creating a "Caribbean consciousness" is never ending. Patteson claims that this open-endedness allows him as its student to end his study without a conclusion, a dubious argument given the fact that a dominant theme is evident throughout the book. As he states it in his final paragraph, "The multifarious dream of Caribbean consciousness originates in the collective, often painful, experience of generations and emerges as the transformative 'arts of the narrator' in story after story, text after text" (p. 168).

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Democracy and Human Rights in the Caribbean. IVELAW L. GRIFFITH & BETTY N. SEDOC-DAHLBERG (eds.). Boulder CO: Westview Press, 1997. vii + 278 pp. (Paper US\$ 21.00)

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The editors of this essay collection explain its purpose by pointing out that "the Caribbean, like regions elsewhere, is caught in what has been called democracy's global 'Third Wave.' In this volume, contributors examine the nature of democratization in the region together with its affiliate, human rights. The aim is to extend the analysis and debates beyond political democracy and civil and political rights to consider also economic democracy and economic and social rights" (p. 257).

It is clear that democratic government seems to be the only appropriate way to deal with public affairs in the Caribbean. Cuba's Fidel Castro is, after all, no more than a relic from a past in which serious scholars pleaded for the one-party state as a guarantee for welfare for all. For the editors, the question then seems to be how political democracy can be combined with the idea of the welfare state (the so-called basic needs approach).

In my view, the recent trend of neo-liberalism is ahead of the editors. The neo-liberal device of "less government, more market" has no connection with the notion of economic rights. In contrast to governments, markets do not (one would hope) provide enforceable rights, but rather opportunities to be grabbed. How the benefits of markets are, subsequently, distributed is not discussed in the neoliberal ideology.

Readers should not expect this volume to be a puzzle with all the pieces falling neatly into place: the variety in definitions, mostly implicitly used, is simply too great. Besides, the framework of "International Dimensions and Common Problems" (Part A) and "Case Studies" (Part B) suggests a coherence that does not exist. The studies of Part B seem hardly influenced by the studies of Part A.

The contributions of this book are roughly as follows: first, legal analyses; second, descriptions of (recent) political history; and third, thematic studies. Regarding the first topic, human rights are defined by both domestic and international law. In terms of domestic law, Francis Alexis vividly portrays the judiciary of the Eastern Caribbean States as a guarantor of the protection of human rights. It seems that the authority of the British Privy Council, in the end responsible for the interpretation of these rights, plays

a major role. David J. Padilla and Elizabeth A. Houppert present an analysis of the system for protection of human rights of the Organization of American States (OAS). Case studies of Grenada, Suriname, and Haiti should convince readers of the importance of the OAS system for the entire Caribbean. However, these cases only demonstrate that transitions from dictatorship to democratic governance enjoy the special interest from organizations connected with the OAS system. Even though national and international law may provide mechanisms to protect human rights, the concerns of Amnesty International about human rights violations in the Caribbean grow every year. Amnesty criticizes police brutality, as well as the penal system and conditions in prisons. The problem is that in open and democratic societies opinion leaders are increasingly presenting such violations of human rights as inevitable in the war against drug related crime.

In the descriptions of political developments, most attention goes to the post-dictatorship era. Not surprisingly, the predominant mood is one of optimism combined with concern about the consolidation of democracy. As a result of missions to monitor elections, Marvin Will concentrates on the recent political history of Nicaragua and Guyana. Damian J. Fernandez describes the human rights movement in Cuba. Larman C. Wilson expresses his hopes for a democratic Dominican Republic by virtue of an increase in checks and balances in the political system and the rise of an economic middle class. Ivelaw Griffith describes the post-Burnham era of Guyana in terms of political liberalization. Robert E. Maguire praises the attempts of former president Aristide and his successor Préval to reduce the differences between the "haves" and the "have nots" in Haiti. Betty Sedoc-Dahlberg sees the lack of communication and participation of citizens as a major obstacle to real democracy in Suriname.

The lack of a commonly used analytical framework produces an unintegrated series of isolated essays. Thus, dates of the rise and fall of regimes, and names of political leaders and parties are not easily retained. On the other hand, readers with a special interest in, for example, Suriname will come across little new.

As far as themes are concerned, the topics that really invoke debate are structural adjustment and drug related crime. Dorith Grant-Wisdom criticizes structural adjustment in Jamaica as a producer of income inequality. Apparently, she is trying to stop the train of neo-liberal thinking in Jamaica. Her ideological statement may be clear, but the most intriguing question is left unanswered: Why does structural adjustment help the poor of, for example, Barbados and not the poor of Jamaica?

Griffith and Trevor Munroe address the drug problem in the Caribbean. One of their subtitles, "From Liberal Democracy to Narco-Democracy," clearly identifies their concern. In my view, these authors do not exagger-

ate at all. For example, the return of Jamaican ethnic-based crime gangs from the United States indeed seems to contribute to "tribalism" in the country. The question, then, should be what kind of investors are attracted by narco-democracies: the ones who supply decent employment resulting in a self-assured middle class?

Clifford E. Griffin's essay on Trinidad and Tobago closely fits the above-mentioned contribution. Narco-democracy manifests itself in everyday life in constantly increasing crime rates. Human rights problems are twofold. How can citizen's rights to security be guaranteed? On the other hand, can the rights to fair trial and to humanitarian punishment be realized in a society that, tired of crime, asks for a merciless police, corporal punishment, and the death penalty?

Each reader will certainly find something to her or his taste in this book. Yet, comparative analyses between various Caribbean countries would have been helpful. The missing link, in my view, is the connection with contemporary development thinking in which both democracy and good governance are considered prerequisites for economic development. Hence, the question is if Caribbean democracies will be successful in attracting investment when they show only lip-service toward good governance. After reading this volume my conclusion is that the time has come for a rearrangement of themes in Caribbean studies.

Drugs and Security in the Caribbean: Sovereignty Under Siege. IVELAW LLOYD GRIFFITH. University Park: Penn State University Press, 1997. xx + 295 pp. (Cloth US\$ 35.00, Paper US\$ 16.95)

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This is the most comprehensive study of illegal drugs' consequences on Caribbean countries. The book focuses on the erosion of military, political, economic, and environmental security in the region caused by drug production and trafficking in an area where sovereignty has always been under siege because of small country size. Focusing on the interplay of illegal drugs, geography, power, and politics, the study analyzes the illegal drug trade's actors, production, and consumption and provides a remarkable amount of factual information about those phenomena.

The discussion of drug-trafficking operations in the Caribbean is thorough, and confirms the importance of the region's location as a factor conducive to illegal trade. The role of money laundering in the Caribbean is also laid out in detail.

The analysis of security implications and countermeasures focuses first on an evaluation of the types of criminal behavior related to illegal drugs and their effects, and provides a list of legislative measures taken by the various countries in response to increases in drug-related crime. Griffith concludes that these have put the region at risk of being "Colombianized." Some of the costs of these countermeasures are also assessed.

Second, the book expands on some other negative effects such as increases in arms trafficking and consumption and a decline in governance, providing a good number of examples.

Third, it attempts to measure the economic costs and benefits of the illegal industry. Griffith presents several reasons why this is a complex task and concludes, cautiously, that it is likely that costs exceed benefits.

Fourth, he surveys the national, regional, and international countermeasures taken. He highlights the importance of regional and international cooperation which has been involved in about 90 percent of the measures but concludes that external cooperation leaves much to be desired.

The conclusion of the book is pessimistic because the author sees Caribbean drug involvement as a result of decisions made by South American traffickers over which the Caribbean has no control. There is no doubt that the study succeeds on the whole as it shows the negative effects that drug production and trafficking have had on Caribbean security and sovereignty. It represents a pioneering effort to provide a large amount of information and should be used in any future research in the region. Even though the book does not make it explicit, the author's interpretation relies heavily on dependency theory and depicts the region as a victim of external forces. There is no question that, given Caribbean history, this approach is appealing to many students of the region, but it is limited in scope and in its usefulness for the study of illicit drugs.

First, Griffith does not explore important possible research lines such as the role of the traditional high level of contraband and the development of fiscal paradises in the region as facilitators of the drug trade. Indeed, the book presents the development of offshore banking as a neutral development strategy. Unfortunately, the Caribbean cannot escape a simple reality: offshore banking, some of its free zones, and the tolerance of contraband all help break other countries' laws and contribute to a culture of tolerance toward economic crimes that acts as a magnet for illicit drugs. The region cannot expect to set up institutions to attract smugglers and "clean" white-collar criminals to launder money and at the same time avoid "dirty" traffickers.

Second, the economic analysis pictures the Caribbean as a "low growth" region with a very weak resource base. The region's poor performance is presented as a matter of fact. The relationship between economic policies and performance is not explored. Implicitly, the region is seen as a victim of its dependent role in the international capitalist system, and the region's participation in the illegal trade is implicitly justified as a result of lack of other economic alternatives. Future research should explore the role of populist Jamaican policies in the collapse of the country's economy in the 1980s.

It was not the purpose of the book to evaluate the effectiveness of the many anti-drug policies followed by national, regional, bi-national, and multinational agencies, but the information it provides will be a useful source in this direction.

The Dictator Next Door: The Good Neighbor Policy and the Trujillo Regime in the Dominican Republic, 1930-1945. ERIC PAUL ROORDA. Durham NC: Duke University Press, 1998. xii + 337 pp. (Cloth US\$ 54.95, Paper US\$ 17.95)

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The Dictator Next Door is a remarkable book. An "old-fashioned" reliance on diplomatic sources has become unusual these days when historians are mainly interested in themes like "post-coloniality" or "globalization." Roorda ventures into this subdiscipline, arguably the "oldest" one in history, unapologetically and with conviction, choosing an extremely interesting period for his analysis of U.S. policy in the Caribbean. He shows beautifully how in the period of the "Good Neighbor policy," the United States was caught up in an intense, but at times hopelessly contradictory search for new foreign policy tenets. The support of democracy and the creation of good relations between the United States and its Latin American neighbors were important goals informing U.S. foreign policy, but there was no consensus whatsoever about the question of what to do with ruthless but potentially helpful dictators. The support for democracy became even more complicated because of an enduring racist notion, among U.S. officials, that order could be maintained among non-white people only by strong discipline.

Roorda's book acquires an extra dimension because it focuses on the Dominican Republic. In this country, U.S. officials found a formidable adversary in Rafael Leonidas Trujillo, who came to power in 1930 after a thinly disguised military coup and determined the fate of the country until 1961. The U.S. government did not really know how to handle this shrewd and ruthless dictator. The Good Neighbor policy prevented direct diplomatic or military intervention, and U.S. officials could arrive at no consensus about the preferred way to deal with Trujillo. There was an especially sharp division between the diplomatic service, most of which was opposed to the Dominican dictator, and Navy officers, who were deeply impressed by the peace and order he had created. Roorda demonstrates that these contrasting opinions depended both on personal differences and ideological or political commitments.

Extensive attention to the personal characteristics of the main players makes the book a classic diplomatic history. Roorda is at his best in his vivid descriptions of U.S. officials. He describes John Moors Cabot, the U.S. *chargé d'affaires* in 1930, as "humorous and affable in public, but derisive and condescending in private, revealing attitudes that inclined him to underestimate the intelligence and determination of the contenders for Dominican political power" (p. 35). On Charles Sumner Welles, the life-long enemy of Trujillo and author of an influential book on Dominican politics, he writes: "Although he was charming to his friends, Welles was humorless and rigid in public life, prompting one diplomat to comment that he looked as if he had 'swallowed a ramrod in his youth'" (p. 79). These kinds of descriptions can be found everywhere in the text and, together with Roorda's mastery of the literature, give a lively and thorough vision of the diplomatic relations between a confused superpower and a single-minded dictatorial regime.

The book is an impressive example of diplomatic history, but it also has some weaknesses. As a "Dominicanist," I was struck by the absence of a Dominican point of view. Even Trujillo, one of the principal protagonists in Roorda's story, does not really come to life. He remains the archetypical, one-dimensional Latin American dictator, and the logic of his regime and its insertion in Dominican society are not effectively portrayed. Probably as a result of the preponderance of U.S. source material, the Dominican side of the story remains strangely obtuse. A good example may be Trujillo's financial policies. The Trujillo regime paid off the external debt and created its own Dominican currency. Contemporaries, even Trujillo's fiercest opponents, were awed by the feat, and up to the present day it is considered one of the landmarks of the Trujillato. Roorda devotes an entire chapter to financial aspects of Dominican-U.S. relations, but hardly mentions this point, which is essential from a Dominican point of view. Related to this is

a certain lack of attention to the historical development of the Trujillo regime. Roorda basically treats the period 1930-45 (and beyond) as one historical "present," sometimes obscuring fundamental changes in the nature and the policies of the Trujillo government. Trujillo's shrewd political instinct and the changes in the national and international context of his regime led to important changes in his political strategies and his attitude toward the United States.

All in all, this is a well-documented and important book, with invaluable information on the practice of U.S. foreign policy. Nevertheless, readers who are interested in understanding the intricacies of the Trujillo regime and its place in the twentieth-century history of the Dominican Republic will need to do some complementary reading.

The Dutch in the Americas 1600-1800. WIM KLOOSTER. Providence RI: The John Carter Brown Library, 1997. xviii +101 pp. (Paper US\$ 35.00)

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The John Carter Brown Library in Providence, Rhode Island, has a large collection on Dutch activities in the Americas down to the end of the eighteenth century. The work under review was published as a catalog to an exhibition of about 175 rare prints, maps, and illustrated books that was put on at the library in 1997 and at The Equitable Gallery, New York, in 1998.

The Dutch in the Americas is not organized as a catalog, however, but as a narrative history of Dutch ventures in the Americas between 1600 and 1800. After a brief account of the rise of the Northern Netherlands and the war against Habsburg Spain, the author's narrative opens with the Dutch presence on the Wild Coast and the early explorations of the Río de la Plata and the Strait of Magellan. At first, it was the Dutch East India Company that had the privilege of passage through the Strait of Magellan, and the "Nassau fleet" under Jacques l'Hermite fitted out in 1623 was still a VOC venture. With the foundation of the West India Company, however, a war instrument was created as the scheme of the Dutch colonization of Brazil was born. Many of the exhibition items are taken from the period of governorship of Johan Maurits van Nassau-Siegen in the colony of New Holland, such as Caspar van Baerle's history with engravings by Frans Post, or the survey of Brazilian flora and fauna by Willem Piso and Georg Marcgraf.

Yet twenty years after the Dutch capitulation, as Klooster sums up, the Dutch empire consisted only of six Caribbean islands, the former English colony of Suriname, and a string of small Guiana settlements (p. 39). The final two chapters focus on the Dutch contribution to North American history, including what was once thought to be the earliest printed view of New Amsterdam (Joost Hartgers's *Beschrijvinghe van Virginia* of 1651), and on Guiana, Suriname, and the Caribbean islands, where the Dutch were more important as commercial intermediaries than as colonizers proper.

This succinct narrative history will certainly be useful as an English-language synthesis on the Dutch in the Americas. The author's brief, however, entails two limitations which, though unavoidable, should be mentioned here.

The first is the fact that, tied as it is to the John Carter Brown holdings, the choice of illustrative material is narrower than the subject itself requires. For besides prints, maps, and illustrated books, there are paintings, illustrated manuscripts, and three-dimensional artifacts which also throw light on (or at least bear the traces of) the Dutch presence in the Americas. This shortcoming is particularly conspicuous in Chapter 4, "Images and Knowledge of the New World." For instance, the author is well aware that the image of America as a nude Indian girl riding a giant armadillo goes back to the Antwerp artist Maarten de Vos, but he has to illustrate it from a later and more obscure publication, the cover of Hendrick Ottsen's *Journael oft daghelijcx-register*. Comparison between the John Carter Brown Library illustrations in this book and many of the large exhibition catalogs issued to commemorate the 500th anniversary of Columbus's "discovery" of America indicates some of the inevitable lacunae.

The second limitation imposed by the nature of the material available to Klooster is that this is a book (by a Dutch scholar) about the Dutch on the Dutch in the Americas. As a consequence, almost nowhere are we given an inkling of how the Dutch presence was viewed by the native Americans themselves, and on one of the rare occasions when we are told something about the attitude of the Mohawks toward the new settlers, it is still as seen through the eyes of Adriaen van der Donck. This Dutch filter operates at many levels. Thus in many cases we should translate "indigenous attack" as "native self-defense." And when the author writes "Legends gave way to experience from the 1590s onward, as the Dutch ventured to the Americas themselves" (p. 49), we should not forget the one-sided nature of that experience. In this connection, Benjamin Schmidt's eagerly awaited study of the Americas in the Dutch imagination will help us to understand the nature and effects of this filter in more detail.

These limitations notwithstanding, this excellently produced volume deserves a shelf-life that extends well beyond the duration of an exhibition.

The Archaeology of Aruba: The Tanki Flip Site. AAD H. VERSTEEG & STÉPHEN ROSTAIN (eds.). Oranjestad: Archaeological Museum Aruba, 1997. 518 pp. (Cloth US\$ 25.00)

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The collaboration distinguishing the Tanki Flip project is evident from the first page in this book, where readers learn that the volume was published cooperatively by the Archaeological Museum of Aruba and the Foundation for Scientific Research in the Caribbean Region (Amsterdam). Collaboration among Aruban, Dutch, French, Cuban, and American archaeologists endured throughout the project, from field research to lab analysis to report-writing phases, under the supervision of Versteeg and Rostain, the Dutch and French field directors and volume editors.

Dabajuroid artifacts recovered at Tanki Flip confirm that Aruba's Amerindian populations were closely linked to those of Venezuela, a finding that explains why scholars who investigate prehistory disregard modern political boundaries. Dabajuroid is the archaeological manifestation of the Amerindians identified ethnohistorically as Caquetio (or Caiquetio). The fact that the chapter exploring Venezuelan connections was written by José Oliver, a Puerto Rican archaeologist teaching at a university in England, speaks to the truly transnational aspects of present-day archaeological research in the Caribbean region.

The Tanki Flip site, inhabited from about A.D. 1000 to 1250 (p. 111), is one of three large Dabajuroid villages equidistantly spaced across Aruba (Fig. 7). Fieldwork in 1994-95 initially involved the removal of topsoil by mechanical equipment over a large area (48 by 50 meters), after which exposed features, burials, structure postholes, and artifact clusters were investigated in detail. Mechanical stripping, a controversial methodology among Caribbean archaeologists, was justified by the project directors (rightly so in this reviewer's opinion) because of the threat of damage to the Tanki Flip site by house and road construction (p. 1), a project now apparently in abeyance. Tanki Flip is undoubtedly a major habitation site and in spite of the research discussed in this volume and the earlier excavations (p. 4), a significant part of the settlement will be available for future fieldwork if the threatened construction is thwarted.

Thirteen people wrote the seventeen chapters and three appendices. The editors are to be commended for organizing this mass of detailed information into such a logically structured volume, including cross references among chapters indicating that the authors, who deal with specialized subject matter (e.g., pottery, shell remains, carbonized wood, colonial artifacts), are knowledgeable about the research findings of the other chapters' authors. The editors' achievement is indeed impressive in view of the need to translate into English those manuscripts originally written in Spanish and French. The book's graphics are clear and comprehensive with 321 figures including photographs, maps, and line drawings; tabulated data are concentrated after the appendices. This volume would have been improved had the editors listed the figures and tables after the Contents page, thus eliminating the need for readers to leaf through the text in order to relocate an image of interest. One glaring omission is the absence of an index.

The three initial chapters provide the background of the project (Versteeg and Rostain), place the Tanki Flip site in its natural environment (Arminda C. Ruiz), and introduce site-wide distributions of the features and structures revealed (Robert N. Bartone and Versteeg). Nine chapters are subject specific in coverage. Chapter 4 deals with shell remains. Rostain covers stone and coral materials (Chapters 5 and 6), Sandrine Grouard presents vertebrates (Chapter 7), and Lee A. Newsom completes the organic materials with her chapter (Chapter 13) on carbonized wood species. Versteeg authored two chapters – one on pottery (Chapter 9) and one on hearths and kilns (Chapter 10), and co-authored one with Jouke Tacoma and Rostain on human burials (Chapter 11). Lon E. Bulgrin and Bartone's report on colonial materials is the last subject specific chapter (Chapter 14).

Chapter 4, analysis of the molluscan fauna, is particularly interesting. Its first three sections deal with procurement and processing (Arthur Reinink), recurrent forms (Ramón Dacal Moure), and artifacts (Nathalie Serrand), respectively representing Dutch, Cuban, and French perspectives on shell studies, and the fourth, concluding, section was written by the three authors jointly.

The rest of the chapters are broader in intent. Rostain and Dacal Moure (p. 8) compare the shape and function of the Tanki Flip organic and stone artifacts analyzed in Chapters 4-7. Chapter 12 (Rostain and Versteeg) explores spatial distribution of features, infers settlement patterns, and interprets symbolism perceived in the Tanki Flip community structure. Chapter 15 (Oliver) relates Aruban and Venezuelan Dabajuroid manifestations. Ethnographic analogy presumably was the editors' rationale for including Chapter 16, in which Michel Perrin discusses the views of the Guajiro Indians on the treatment of their dead, which includes practices compatible with archaeological evidence at Tanki Flip. The Guajiro reside

130 kilometers from Aruba, on La Guajira peninsula (shared by Venezuela and Colombia). No association or relationship between the living Guajiro and Aruba's archaeological Dabajuroid or ethnohistorical Caquetio is discussed. Versteeg's Chapter 17 is a concise but superb summation of the project's major conclusions.

Caribbean archaeology has long suffered from a paucity of reports on large-scale excavations which in turn has inhibited analysis of prehistoric settlement patterns. At the Golden Rock site, St. Eustatius, Versteeg and Schinkel (1992) first showed why such excavations are advantageous for interpreting patterns from the level of individual structures to the entire village. The Tanki Flip project points out, even more explicitly, the many advances in knowledge of settlement patterns that can accrue from collaboration of this magnitude.

Credit is due the editors for producing this scholarly work, the Archaeological Museum Aruba, and the Institute of Pre- and Protohistory at Leiden University for collaborating in the research, and the Foundation for Scientific Research in the Caribbean Region for funding this impressive volume. Dutch participation in Caribbean archaeology accelerated dramatically during the past decade, and if this volume is indicative of the quality and breadth of their research projects, let us hope they persist in their involvement.

REFERENCE

- VERSTEEG, AAD H. & KEES SCHINKEL (eds.). 1992. *The Archaeology of St. Eustatius: The Golden Rock Site*. St. Eustatius: The St. Eustatius Historical Foundation; Amsterdam: The Foundation for Scientific Research in the Caribbean Region.